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The church historians of
England

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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
✓
JOHN FOXE.

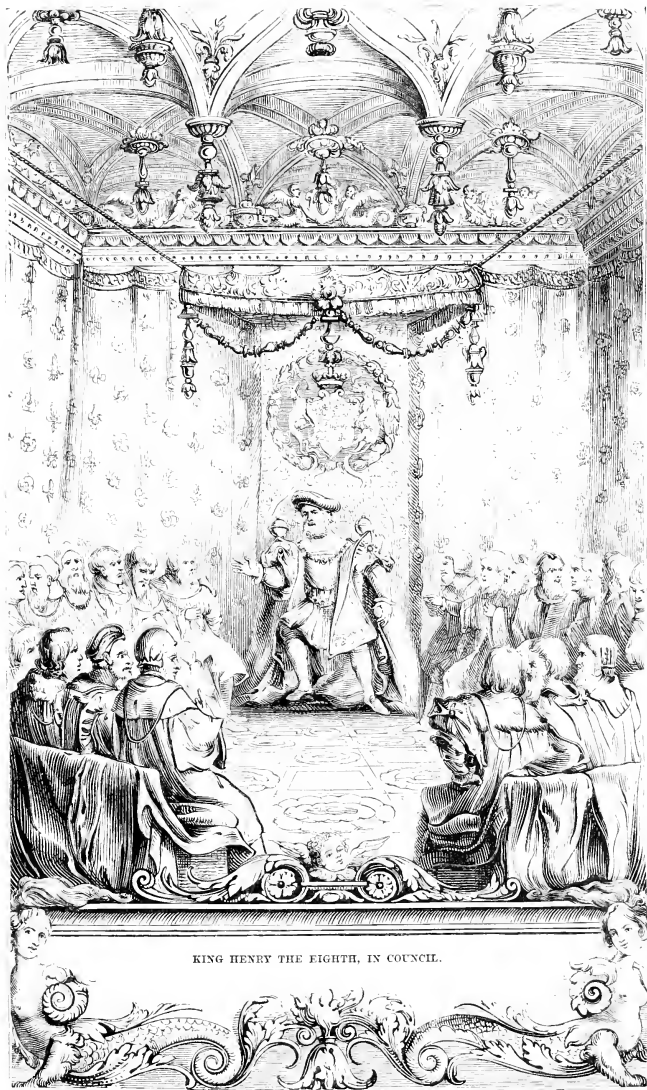
CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. IV.—PART I.

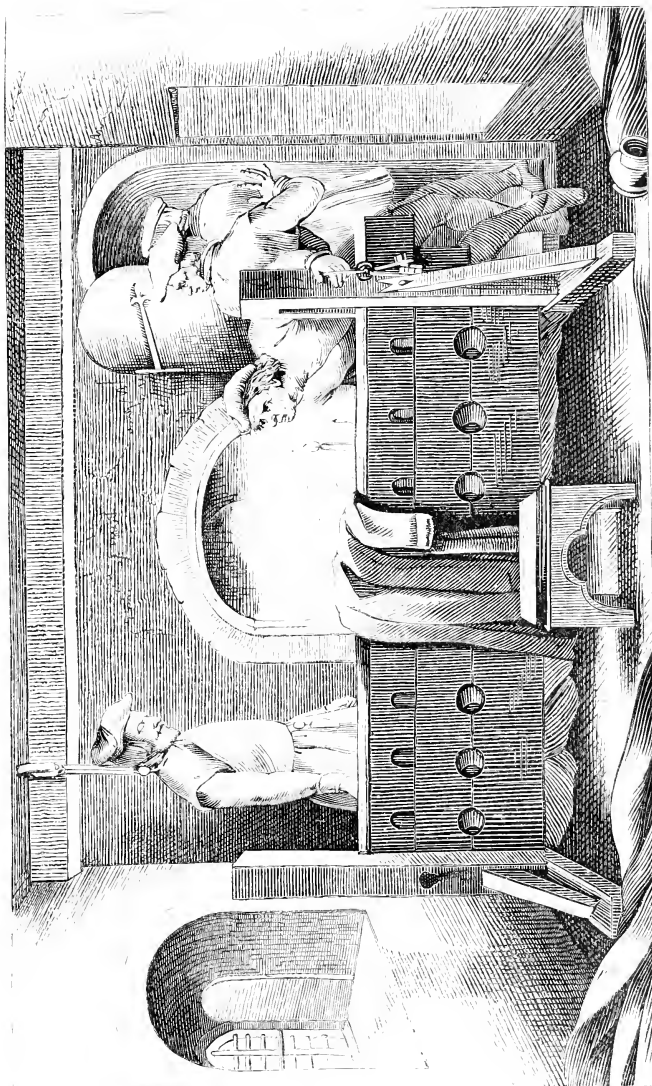
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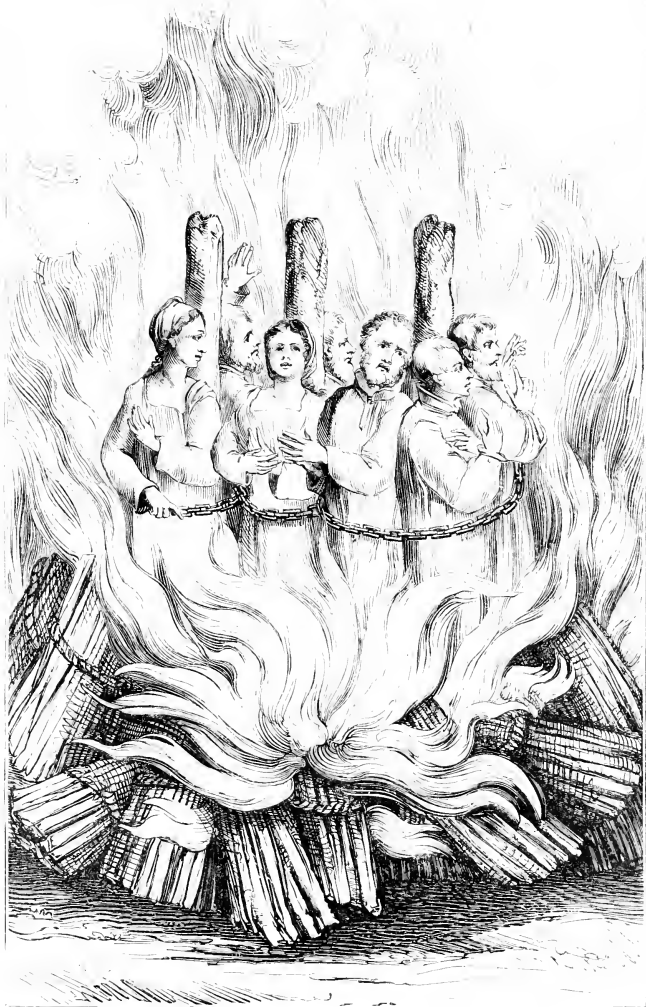
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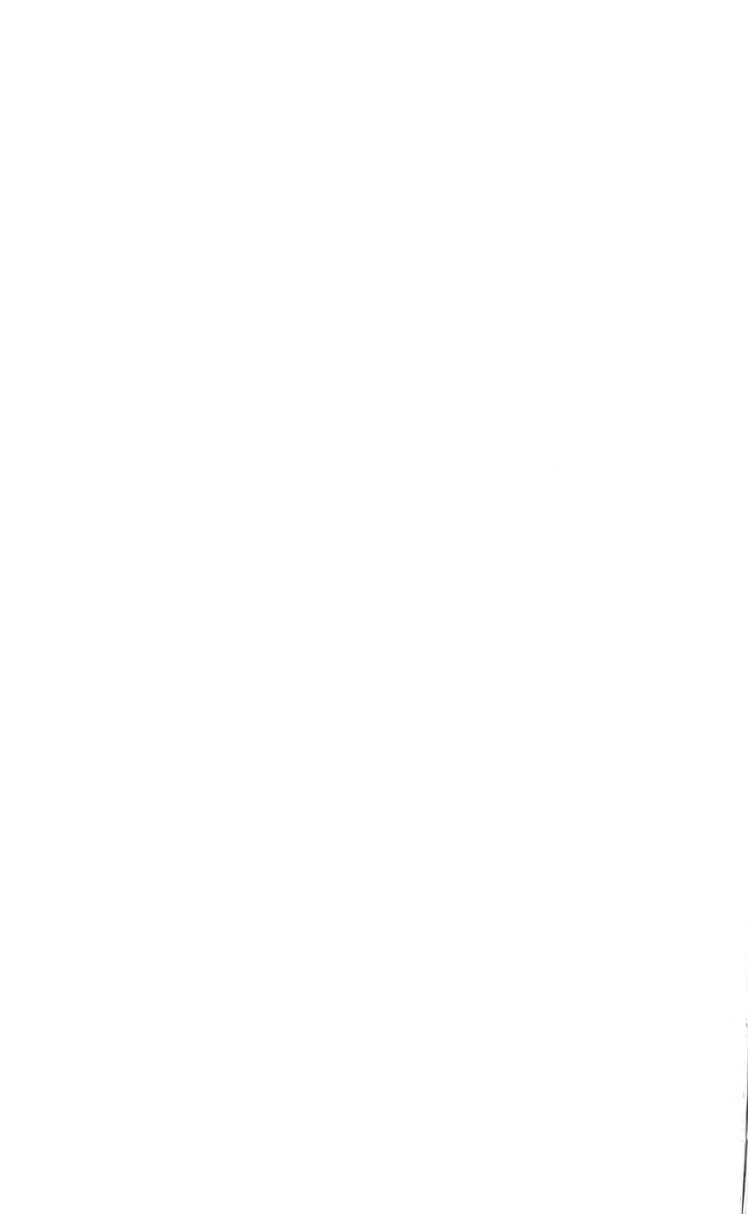


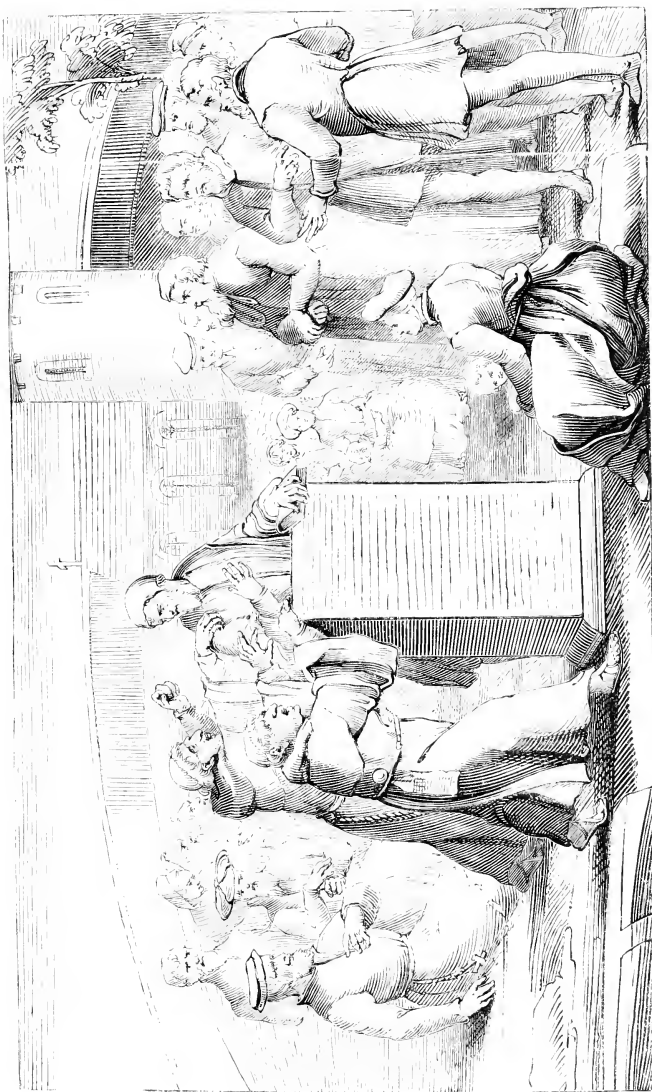
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, IN COUNCIL.





SEVEN GODLY MARTYRS BURNED AT COVENTRY.





THOMAS BILNEY PLUCKED FROM THE PULPIT.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. IV.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT
OF SATAN.¹

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

WHEN king Henry, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory and diadem of the realm, first sending for Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, from Leicester he removed to London; and not long after, according to his oath and promise made before, espoused to him the young lady Elizabeth, heir of the house of York; whereby both the houses of York and Lancaster were conjoined together, to the no little rejoicing of all English hearts, and no less quiet unto the realm, which was A. D. 1486. This king reigned twenty-three years and eight months, and being a prince of great policy, justice, and temperance, kept his realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here, interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of Maximilian the emperor, and matters of the empire, especially such as pertain to the church.

Henry VII.

A. D.
1485.

The two
houses of
York and
Lancaster
joined
together.

*See
Appendix.*

Maximilian the Emperor.

In the year of our Lord 1486, Frederic waxing aged, and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germans, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore, misdoubting that his house, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his lifetime did associate his son Maximilian to be joined emperor with him; with whom he reigned the space of seven years, till the death of the said Frederic his father, who departed A. D. 1493, after he had reigned over the empire fifty-three

A. D. 1486.

Reign
and
death of
Frederic,
the
emperor.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 371. Ed. 1570, p. 364. Ed. 1576, p. 704. Ed. 1583, p. 729. Ed. 1596, p. 670. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 828.—Ed.

Henry VII. years, lacking but three years of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, under whom was the birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

A. D. 1486. This Maximilian, as he was a valiant emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his reign entangled in many unquiet and difficult wars; first, in the lower countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the

A. D. 1487. said Maximilian was taken captive, but shortly after rescued and delivered again by his father, A. D. 1487. It was signified before, how this Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary, the only daughter of Charles duke of Burgundy afore mentioned,¹ by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, A. D. 1477; which Mary not long after, about A. D. 1482, by a fall from her horse, fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars, many more, the same Maximilian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and divers besides.

See Appendix.

The learning of Maximilian.

Writer of his own stories.

First ordainer of the university of Wittenberg.

So happy was the education of this emperor in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the Latin style, that he, imitating the example of Julius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories his own acts and feats done, and that, in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his history to one Picamerus, a learned man, asking his judgment how his warlike style of Latin did like him, the said Picamerus did affirm and report of him to John Carion (the witness and writer of this story), that he did never see nor read in any German story, a thing more exactly (and that in such haste) done, as this was of Maximilian. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so was he a singular patron and advancer of learned students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the university of Wittenberg. By this emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other liberal arts, as also, namely, to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in Germany to set their minds, and to exercise their diligence, in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of history, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinian, Naclerus, Conrad Peutinger, Manlius, and others.

Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the world by the art and faculty of printing, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which printing, the church and commonwealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appear by this emperor, being so endued himself with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by divers other famous and worthy wits, who began now in this age exceedingly to increase and multiply: as Baptista Mantuanus, Augustus Politianus, Hiermolæus Barbarus, Picius Mirandula, and Franciscus his cousin, Rodolphus Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus Beroaldus, Marsilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite others.

Learned men began to grow in Christendom.

Among whom is also to be numbered Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Johannes de Wesalia above recited; both much about one time, and both great friends together. *A. D. 1490.* This Weselus died A. D. 1489. After that Johannes, doctor of Wesalia aforesaid, was condemned, this Weselus, being familiar with him, thought that the inquisitor would come and examine him also,

(1) This Mary was niece to king Edw. IV.

as he himself, in a certain epistle, doth write. He was so notable and so worthy a man, that he was commonly called 'Lux Mundi,' that is, 'The light of the world.'

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow. Likewise purgatory, and supererogation of works, and pardons, he did disprove, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the pope's indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the pope's court, persuaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter than he himself had done.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the supremacy of the pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a book of his, 'De sacramento pœnitentiæ'), denying utterly that any supreme head or governor ought to be in the world over all other; affirming also and saying many times, that the pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth (that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence to stand); neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so as every true christian may prevail over another.¹ Also, in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spiritual prelates, proceeding against Christ's doctrine, be plain antichrists. Such as were infirm, and not able to perform the bond of chastity taken upon them, he said, they might well break their vow.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth, that the forefathers who were before Albert and Thomas, did resist and withstand the pope's indulgences, calling them in their writings plain idolatry, mere fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good divines had withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope, innumerable errors had overflowen the church.

Amongst the works of Weselus, there is a certain epistle of one written to him, in which the author of the epistle witnesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at Paris, called Master Thomas de Curselis, a dean; who, being in the council of Basil, when divers began to advance the power of the pope too far, declared and affirmed to be said to him of Christ, "Quicquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlo," &c., and not "quicquid dixeris esse ligatum;" that is, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven," but not, "whatsoever thou sayest to be bound:"—as who should say, the pope cannot and doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go also with him: then, he doth so bind indeed.² There is a certain book of this man, amongst divers others, which he entitleth, 'De subditis et superioribus,' in the which he disputeth greatly against the pope and his prelates; affirming that the pope, unless his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of means to resist him: Item, That great and superfluous riches in the clergy do not profit, but hurt, the church: That the pope doth wickedly distribute the rents of the church, and the churches themselves, to unworthy

Henry
VII.

A. D.
1490.

The
pope's
supre-
macy
written
against.

See
Appendix.

Christ's
answer
to Tho.
de Cur-
selis
touching
this
place,
'Quic-
quid li-
gaveris.'

Against
riches
in the
church.

(1) Ex lib. D. Weseli de sacramento pœnitentiæ.

(2) Not whatsoever is said to be loosed on earth, is loosed in heaven; but whatsoever is loosed in very deed in earth, that is also loosed indeed in heaven.

Henry VII.

A.D. 1490.

The precepts of the pope and prelates how they bind. The pope's keys. Vows. Doctrine to be received without examination. Excommunication.

ministers by simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear, that he neither careth for God, nor for the health of the church: Item, That the precepts and commandments of the pope and prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of physicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome, and standing with the truth of the word: Item, That the pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the keys of the pope and of the prelates be not such wherewith they open the kingdom of heaven, but rather shut it, as the Pharisees did. Concerning vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken: Item, That hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination. He sheweth, moreover, that an opinion, and even an excommunication, is of more force, proceeding from a true, godly, honest, simple, and learned man, than from the pope; as in the council of Constance John Gerson was more regarded than John XXIII., and St. Bernard was antiently more esteemed by the pious than Eugene III. Also if the pope with his prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they ever so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two popes, Pius II. and Sixtus IV., he saith, that Pius II. did claim unto himself all the kingdoms of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did dispense with all manner of oaths in causes temporal, not only with such oaths as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter: which was nothing else but to give liberty and license for men to forswear themselves, and to deceive one another.

This Weselus, being a Frisian born, and now aged in years, on a certain time when a young man called Master Johannes Ostendorpius¹ came to him, said these words: "Well, my child, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious divines, of Thomas and Bonaventure, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded by all true christian divines." And this, which Ostendorpius, then being young, heard Weselus to speak, he reported himself to Noviomagus, who wrote the story, having (as he saith) heard it at the mouth of the said Ostendorpius, February 20th, A.D. 1520, in the church of St. Lewin at Deventer.

Philip Melancthon, writing the life of Rodolphus Agricola, saith, that Josquinus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when he was young, he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodolphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the mass and of the single life of priests:² Item, That they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of faith, which St. Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by faith, and not by works. The same Josquine also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of monks, who say that men be justified by their works: Item, Concerning men's traditions their opinion was that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those traditions any opinion

A prophecy of Weselus.

See Appendix.

Rodolphus and Weselus lament the darkness of the church.

(1) This Ostendorpius was a man well learned, and canon of the minster of Deventer. Ex Noviomago.

(2) Here it appeareth that this Rodolphus Agricola was of good judgment, though the friars afterwards buried him in a friar's weed.

of God's worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of doctors Wesalia and Weselus.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light, to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word; as partly by these above said may appear, partly by others that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seen.

*Henry
VII.*

*A. D.
1490.*

The burning of Joan Boughton, and Others.

About the very same time and season, when the gospel began thus to branch and spring in Germany, the host of Christ's church began also to muster and to multiply likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this Weselus, A.D. 1494, and in the ninth year of the reign of king Henry VII., the 28th of April, was burned a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the lady Young, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of Wickliff's opinions (which opinions my author doth not show) for which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliff, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them: for she said, she was so beloved of God, and his holy angels, that she passed not for the fire; and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away by such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for.

*Joan
Boughton,
mother to
the lady
Young,
martyr.*

*See
Appendix.*

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly aged mother, A.D. 1496, and the 17th of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other James Sturdy, bare faggots before the procession of Paul's, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at Paul's cross all the sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot on his neck. After that, in Lent season, upon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bare a faggot before the procession of Paul's, and after, with a faggot, stood before the preacher all the sermon, while at Paul's Cross. And, on the Sunday next following, four men stood, and did their open penance at Paul's, as is aforesaid, in the sermon time, and many of their books were burnt before them, at the cross.

*A.D. 1496.
Richard
Milderale.
James
Sturdy.*

*Hugh
Glover.
Four
others
bear
faggots.*

Furthermore, the next year but one, which was A.D. 1498, in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canterbury, there was a priest burnt, who was so strong in his opinion, that all the clerks and doctors then there being, could not remove him from his faith: whereof the king being informed, he caused the said priest to be brought before his presence, who, by his persuasion, caused him to revoke; and so he was burnt immediately.

*A.D. 1498.
A priest
burnt.*

In the next year (A.D. 1499), after the belheading of Edward Plan-

*Henry VII.**A. D. 1498.*

tagenet, earl of Warwick, and son to the duke of Clarence, the king and queen being removed to Calais, a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt in the month of July, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copy which I have written. Albeit in the Book Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is A.D. 1500.¹

An old
man
burned.

About which year likewise, or in the year next following, the 20th day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

Hieronymus Savonarola, with two Friars, Martyrs.

A. D. 1499.
*See
Appendix.*

In the same year also (A. D. 1499), fell the martyrdom and burning of Hieronymus Savonarola, a man no less godly in heart, than constant in his profession; who, being a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached sore against the evil life and living of the spirituality, and specially of his own order; complaining sore upon them, as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon, by the help of certain learned men, he began to seek reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiving, and fearing that the said Hierome, who was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation of these matters; which vicar with great superstition began to reform things, but the said Hierome did always withstand him; whereupon he was complained of to the pope, and, because that contrary unto the pope's commandment he did withstand his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Hierome left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before unto them, that the land should be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged; as afterwards it came to pass, when king Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straightly beset pope Alexander, that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Prophecy
of Sava-
narola
against
Italy.
Pope
Alexan-
der
besieged
by the
French
king.
Savana-
rola cited
to appear
before the
pope. His
doctrine
con-
demned,
because
he would
not come.

Now, forasmuch as the said Hierome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the gospel); but, by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

This Hierome, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear, left off preaching. But when the people, who sore hungered and longed for God's word, were instant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach A. D. 1496, in the city of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so do without the pope's commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked heretic. But for all that, Hierome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying

(1) Ex Fabiano, et alio scripto codice.

that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

*Henry
VII.*

A. D.
1499.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing than the only pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him, if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto; for, upon his own conscience, he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was, all men may easily judge by his books that he hath written.

After this (A.D. 1498) he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silvester, who favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm: "In te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum, sed in justitia tua libera me;" wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

*Hierom,
with two
other fri-
ars, com-
mitted to
prison.
His com-
mentary
upon
Psalm
xxxj.*

After this the pope's legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatening them marvellously; but they continued still constant. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the pope's commissioners, who had gathered out certain articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which articles hereafter ensue.

Articles objected against Hierome and the two Friars.

I. The first article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.

II. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.

III. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope were of no effect.

IV. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and spirituality.

V. For denying the pope's supremacy.

VI. Also, that he had affirmed that the keys were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the universal church.

VII. Also, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ; for that he did attribute more to his own pardons and traditions, than to Christ's merits; and therefore he was Antichrist.

VIII. Also, that the pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he who doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.

IX. Item, that auricular confession is not necessary.

X. Item, that he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.

XI. Item, that he had neglected and condemned the pope's citation.

XII. Item, that he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the pope.

XIII. Item, that he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtiness and heresy.

XIV. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and such other like articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through God's help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the

*Henry
VII.*

A.D.
1499.

Savonarola, with his two companions, hanged and burnt for the truth of the gospel. Prophecies of Savonarola.

same. Then were they degraded one after another by the bishop of Vaison, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with straight commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretics.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river Arno, the 24th of May, A.D. 1499.¹

This man foreshowed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the church; which three things have happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshowed that the Turks and Moors, in the latter days, should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one, like unto Cyrus, should pass the Alps into Italy, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earl of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savonarola. Marsilius Ficinus also, in a certain epistle, doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner Philippus Comineus, a French historiographer, who had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecy, forasmuch as he had foreshowed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.²

There were besides these, many others, not to be passed over or forgotten: as Philip Norice, an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as have occupied themselves in writing of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign commonwealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the affairs of the church; whereby posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

This Savonarola above mentioned, suffered under pope Alexander VI., of which pope more leisure and opportunity shall serve hereafter (Christ willing) to treat, after we shall first make a little digression, to treat of certain cases and complaints of the Germans, incident in the mean time, which, as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred.

(1) Ex Catal. Testium Illyrici.

(2) The following lines, inserted in some recent editions, have been introduced since Fexe's death: they are also in a Dutch Martyrology, published at Dort, in 1657.—Ed.

"Antonius Flaminius, an Italian, and for piety and learning famous in that age, wrote this epigram upon the death of Hieronymus Savonarola:—

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme! pascitur artus,
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, et 'O,' dixit, 'crudeles pareite flammæ,
P'areite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.'

Which may be thus Englished.

Whilst flames unjust, blest saint! thy body burn,
Weeping Religion, with dishevell'd hairs,
Cries out and says, 'O spare his sacred urn,
Spare, cruel flames, that fire our soul impairs.'"

What complaints of the Germans were made and moved unto the emperor Frederic against the pope's oppressions and exactions, mention was made before; where also was declared, how the said Germans at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the emperor, whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage until the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germans, in the time of Maximilian the emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the emperor ten principal grievances, whereby the Germans have been long time oppressed; showing also the remedies against the same, with certain advisements unto the emperor's majesty, how he might withstand and resist the pope's subtleties and crafts: the order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

Henry VII.

A.D.

1499

to

1503.

Com-
plaint of
the Ger-
mans
against
the pope
renewed.

The Ten principal Grievances, complained of by the Germans.

See
Appendix.

I. That the bishops of Rome do not think themselves bound to observe bulls, covenants, privileges, and letters, which were granted by their predecessors without all derogation; but by often dispensations, suspensions, and revocations, even at the instance of every vile person, they do contravene the same.

II. That the elections of prelates are oftentimes put back

III. That the elections of their presidents, which the chapters of some churches have obtained at great expense, are withstood: as the churches of Spire and Hasela do well know; whose bull touching the election of their president is made frustrate, he being yet alive who granted the same.

IV. That benefices, and the greater ecclesiastical dignities, are reserved for cardinals and prothonotaries.

V. That expectative graces [commonly called 'vowsons'] are granted without number, and sometimes many unto one man; whereupon continual contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the bulls of those vowsons which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this proverb hath risen, 'Whosoever will get a vowson from Rome, must have one or two hundred pieces of gold laid up in his chest, which he shall have need of to prosecute the suit withal for the obtaining of the same.'

VI. That Annates [or first-fruits] are exacted without delay or mercy, even where bishops have died within a few years, and sometimes more is extorted than ought to be, through new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strasburg may be seen.

VII. That the rule of churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, who were more fit to feed and keep mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

VIII. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and scrape money together, to the disgust of the laity.

IX. That tenths are exacted, under pretence of making war against the Turks, when no expedition doth follow thereupon.

X. That the causes which might be determined in Germany, where there are both learned and just judges, are indistinctly¹ carried unto the court of Rome; which thing St. Bernard, writing to pope Eugene, seemeth wonderfully to reprove.

The remedy against the said Grievances.

If it shall seem good unto the emperor's majesty, let it be declared unto the bishop of Rome, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germans,

(1) "Indistinctly," without distinction.—Ed.

*Henry VII.*A. D.
1499
to
1503.The pall
of the
arch-
bishop
of Mentz
what it
costeth.*See
Appendix.*The pall
dearly
bought of
the pope.The peo-
ple polled
for the
pope's
pall.About
fifty
bishoprics
in Ger-
many.

to suffer continually so great charges and grievances, to pay so great annates for the confirmation of the bishops and archbishops, and especially in such bishoprics, where the Annates, by process of time, are enhanced, and in many, as it is said, doubled. For the archbishop's see of Mentz, as it is said, sometime paid only 10,000 florins; which sum, when one who was chosen there refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he who was afterwards elected, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the apostolic see, offered the old sum of 10,000 florins: but, notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10,000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20,000 florins; which, being enrolled in the register of the chamber, hath been exacted of every archbishop since, until these our days: and not only 20,000, but also 25,000, for their new offices and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27,000 florins, which James, the archbishop of Mentz, was compelled to pay, as his commissary did report. So by this means, in one man's lifetime, there were seven times 25,000 florins paid out of the archbishopric of Mentz unto Rome, for the confirmation of the archbishop. And when the archbishop James had kept this archbishopric scarcely four years, the lord Uriel was elected after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24,000, or 25,000 florins; whereof a part he borrowed of merchants. But, to satisfy and pay them again, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poor subjects and husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the bishop's pall, so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extreme poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the clergy.

The pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry wars and battles, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarceness of husbandmen, the fields for the most part lie untilld, the tolls are by divers means diminished, the mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the archbishops and bishops should pay their annates unto the apostolic see, besides their other necessary and honest charges; insomuch that, not without just cause, James, the archbishop of Mentz, being even at the point of death, said, That he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor subjects should be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the pall. Wherefore let the high bishop, as a godly father and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent pastor, deal more favourably with his children the Germans, lest that persecution happen to rise against the priests of Christ, and that men, following the example of the Bohemians, do swerve from the church of Rome.

At least, let him be more favourable, as often as any archbishop or bishop may happen to rule his church but a few years; as it happened to the bishops of Bamberg, whereof three died within a few years. The like also might happen by other bishoprics, whereof, as Æneas Sylvius witnesseth, there are in Germany to the number of fifty, besides abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and revenues arising of the ground, mines, and tolls; notwithstanding the emperor and the other princes should lack treasure and munition of war against their enemies, and especially the infidels, and to preserve Germany in peace and quietness, and to minister justice unto every man: for which purpose the council of the chamber, being most holily instructed, and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the rebels in the empire, to banish and drive away thieves and murderers, whereof a great number are not ashamed not to spoil churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the clergy themselves. Finally, our nation and country of Germany hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of churches and monasteries, but also for hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widows, for women with child, for orphans, for marriage of the daughters of poor men, that they be not defiled, for such as have need and necessity, for the old and weak, for

the sick and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled.

Henry VII.

An Advertisement unto the Emperor Maximilian, of the subtle Practices of the Pope and Popish Prelates.

A.D.
1499
to
1503.

Let the emperor's majesty foresee and provide that the begging friars do not preach against his majesty, who are wont to complain gladly unto the apostolic see, fearing to lose their privileges, which I would to God were as well grounded upon Christ, as they are upon profit. Let the emperor's majesty also beware, that the pope do not give commandment unto the electors, to proceed to the election of a new king of Romans, as he did against Frederic II., when the landgrave of Thuringia, and William earl of Holland, were elected by the commandment of the pope. Let the emperor's majesty also fear and take heed of all the prelates of the churches, and especially of the presidents, who by their oath are bound to advertise the pope. Let the emperor's majesty also fear and beware, that the pope do not take away from his subjects their obedience, and provoke the people bordering upon him, to make invasion into the emperor's dominions and archduchy of Austria; which those men, under colour of showing obedience unto the pope's commandment, be ready to do.

Let the emperor's majesty, also, take heed of the apostolic censures, from which the pope will in no case refrain. Finally, let the emperor's majesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the pope do not persuade the people with most subtle arguments, contrary to the Pragmatical sanction, excusing himself, and getting the good will of the simple, alleging that with great costs and charges, he will repair the church of St. Peter in Rome, and build in certain places against the Turks, and recover again the lands and patrimony pertaining unto the church of St. Peter; as he is bound by his office. Therefore let your majesty diligently foresee and deliberate, how, through your most wise and discreet counsel, if need shall require, you will answer to those subtleties of the pope.

The pope's pretence of building St. Peter's church in Rome.

A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperor's Majesty.

Your majesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable to God, or more worthy eternal remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germans; to take away all occasion from the laity, to persecute the clergy: also to take away the benefices out of the hands of Curtesans, who can neither preach, comfort, nor counsel any man (of which benefices, as Æneas Sylvius writeth, some are equal to the bishoprics of Italy); to increase God's honour and worship; and so to bridle the avarice and ungodliness of those Curtesans, whereby your majesty may the better provide for the children of many noble and famous men and citizens in Germany; who, being brought up from their youth in the universities, learning both the Scriptures and other human letters, may, without tiresome vexations and most expensive and improper contests, aspire to the ecclesiastical promotions; who by their counsel and prayers may be helps unto the empire and the church: for it is no small occasion, why the realm of France should so flourish, that it hath so many notable learned men in it. If the emperor would abolish this impiety, and restore Germany unto her ancient liberty, which is now oppressed with grievous tributes, and would make way for learned and honest men unto ecclesiastical promotions; then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the liberator of Germany, the restorer of liberty, and really the father of his country; and should obtain no less glory thereby unto himself, and profit unto Germany, than if he had by force of arms subdued some province unto them. And so shall Germany render no less thanks unto the said Maximilian, than unto all the rest who have reigned ever since the empire was translated from the Greeks to the Germans.

A supplication to Maximilian the emperor for redress of the church.

See Appendix.

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certain letter of the emperor Maximilian, given out in manner of a decree or commandment against certain abuses of the clergy: whereunto we have also annexed the answer of Jacobus Selestadiensis unto the emperor's letters,

Henry VII.

wherein ne seemeth also to have sought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

A.D.
1499
to
1503.

An Edict of Maximilian the Emperor.

We, according to the example of our dearly beloved father, Frederic III., emperor of Rome, reverencing the chief pastor of the church and all the clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the prelates and clergy that are absent, whose faults, committed by human frailty, with Constantine our predecessor we would not disdain to hide and cover. But forso much as through our liberality the decay of God's honour hath arisen, it is our part (who are elect unto the empire, without any desert) to foresee, that among all other affairs of peace and war the churches do not decay, religion quail not, nor God's true worship be diminished; which we have manifestly experimented and daily do perceive by the insatiable covetousness of some, who are never satisfied in getting of benefices; through whose absence (being resident only upon one) God's honour and worship are diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroyed, hospitality and alms diminished, and, by their insatiable greediness, such of the clergy, as for their learning and virtue were worthy of benefices, and for their wisdom profitable in commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore, according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the increase of God's honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any canonship or vicarage in one city of our empire, shall occupy or possess a prebend in another church of the same city, except he give over the first within a year's space unto some person fit and profitable for the church; neither that he do by unjust quarrels vex or trouble any man in getting of benefices; neither that any man do, to the prejudice of the ordinary patrons, falsely feign himself to be of the emperor's household, who is not so, agreeably to the league and agreement made by the German princes and nation; neither that any man attempt to take away the patronage from any layman, or burden small prebends, still less curacies, with pensions; neither that they do use in getting of benefices and bulls any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regress, or other thing contrary to the sacred canons, against right, honesty, equity, and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they who go so contrary to God and all honesty, but also all their favourers, who do help, counsel, harbour, or give them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctors, sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment.

From Inspruck, &c.

Here ensueth the copy of a Letter written unto the emperor Maximilian.

A Letter of Jacobus Selestadiensis, to the Emperor Maximilian, in answer to the Edict.

To our most victorious lord, Maximilian the emperor, Jacobus Selestadiensis, with most humble commendations:

Most victorious emperor! when I had read your majesty's epistle, and received instructions of your secretary, I prepared myself, with all my whole endeavour, to satisfy your majesty's desire. For even from my youth hitherto, I have applied all my care and study, first for the honour of your majesty, and consequently, for the amplifying of the German nation, and sacred Roman empire. Albeit I know myself far unable to satisfy your desire and purpose, and there are many who can fulfil this matter much better, who have greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other princes, and in the senates of commonwealths, many excellent learned men, who can exornate and beautify Germany, and persuade to reduce all the clergy

No man to have two canonships or prebends at once.

unto a christian discipline, and to a unity and peace of the universal church : wherein, not only your majesty, but also your predecessors, as Charles the Great, and his son Ludovicus Pius, the Othos, Conrads, Frederics, and Henrys, and last of all, Sigismund, have, with all labour and diligence, travailed ; being stirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto Almighty God, and thankfulness to Christ for his benefits which he hath bestowed upon mankind, and especially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poor for us, that we should live in all riot and wantonness upon his patrimony, and show forth our ambition and covetousness ; neither did he suffer hunger, that we should glut up ourselves ; nor suffered labours, chastity, and grievous torments, that we should live in idleness, wantonness, and all kind of voluptuousness. Neither they who were contributors, and benefactors to churches, enduing the ministers thereof with their temporal riches, had any such respect herein, that the clergy should live only in idleness, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause, why they in times past did impoverish themselves and theirs, to endow the church : verily, that they might the better attend unto divine service without care of want of living (which they might easily get and gather out of the fields, woods, meadows, and waters), and to the intent that they should liberally give alms unto the poor Christians, widows, orphans, aged and sick persons. For, in the institutions of the canonical profession, which we suppose were written by the commandment of Ludovicus Pius the emperor, and allowed by the council of the bishops, thus it is read ; ' The goods of the church, as it is alleged by the fathers, and contained in the chapters before, are the vows of the faithful, the fines of sinners, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithful, through the ferventness of their faith and love of Christ being inflamed, for the cure of their souls, and desire of the heavenly country, enriched holy church with their own goods, that thereby the soldiers of the church might be nourished, churches adorned, the poor refreshed, and captives, according to the opportunity of time, redeemed. Wherefore, such as have the administration of those goods ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper use, but rather should tend those, to the utmost of their power, in whom Christ is fed and clothed.' Prosper is also of the same mind, affirming that ' holy men did not challenge the church goods to their own use, as their own proper goods, but as entrusted to their charge, divided them amongst the poor : for that is to condemn that which a man possesseth, not to possess a thing for himself, but for others ; neither to covet the church goods with covetousness to have them himself, but to take them with a godly zeal to help others. That which the church hath, is common to all those who have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (saith he) who have of their own ; for to give unto them who have enough, is but to cast things away.'¹

Henry
VII.A. D.
1499
to
1503.See
Appendix.

To return now to the order of popes, where we left before, speaking of Innocent VIII. After the said Innocent, next succeeded pope Alexander VI. ; in which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted : that when Gemes (Peucer nameth him Demes) brother to Bajazet the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of pope Innocent, then of Alexander VI., for whose keeping the pope received every year 40,000 crowns ; yet, notwithstanding, when pope Alexander afterwards was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles VIII. the French king for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turk's favour by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slain, he (pope Alexander), being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poisoned, who, in his journey going toward the French king, died at Terracina.²

Moreover, it appeareth, that this Alexander, taking displeasure with the aforesaid Charles, the French king, about the winning of

The order
of popes.The pope
poisoneth
Gemes,
the Turk's
brother.

(1) Ex Illyrico.

(2) Ex Paulo Jovio lib. ii. Ex Peucero lib. v. Ex Hieronym. Mario.

Henry
VII.

Naples, sent to Bajazet, the Turk, to fight against the aforesaid Charles.¹

A. D.
1499
to
1503.

He set-
teth the
Turk
azainst
the
French
king.

Munsterus,² declaring the aforesaid history of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king; and when Johannes Huniades, aforementioned, did labour to the French king to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turk, as it was not unlike, this Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterwards was poisoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Manci-
nellus,
writing
against
the pope,
loseth his
hands and
tongue.

Poison
requited
with
poison.

The high
angel of
the palace
thrown
down.
Order of
popes.

See
Appendix.

Unto these poisoned acts of the pope, let us also adjoin his malicious wickedness, with like fury, exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus; which Mancinellus, being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with Marcus Cicero, for writing against his horrible life. At length, as one poison requireth another, this poisoning pope, as he was sitting with his cardinals and other rich senators of Rome at dinner, his servants unawares brought to him a wrong bottle, where-with he was poisoned, and his cardinals about him.

In the time of this pope Alexander also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted), how that the Angel, which stood in the high top of the pope's church, was beaten down with a terrible thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruin and fall of the popedom. After this pope, next succeeded Pius III. Sep. 22d, 1503; after whom came next Julius II., a man so far passing all others in iniquity, that Wicelius, and such others of his own friends, writing of him, are compelled to say of him, "*Marti illum quam Christo deditorem fuisse;*" that is, That he was more given to war and battle, than to Christ. Concerning the madness of this man, this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to war, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river Tiber, saying, that forasmuch as the keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he must take himself to the sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melancthon, amongst many others, writing upon the same, maketh this epigram:

"Cum contra Gallos bellum papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet,
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, et urbem
Egressus sævas edidit ore minas;
Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi jungit aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri."

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this epigram.

"In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,
Armata educit Julius urbe manum.

1) Ex Hieronym. Mario.

(2) Lib. 4. 'Cosmograph.'

Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
 Projicit, et sævus talia verba facit :
 Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
 Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit."

Henry
 VII.

A. D.
 1503.

The sense of these epigrams in English, is this :—

When Julius pope against the French
 determined to make war,
 As fame reports, he gathered up
 great troops of men from far;
 And to the bridge of Tiber then,
 marching as he were wood;
 His holy keys he took and cast
 them down into the flood.
 And afterward into his hand
 he took a naked sword,
 And shaking it brake forth into
 this fierce and warlike word :
 ' This Sword of Paul,' quoth he, ' shall now
 ' defend us from our foe;
 ' Since that this key of Peter doth
 ' nothing avail thereto.'

See
 Appendix.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his wars, partly with his cursings,¹ within the space of seven years as good as 200,000 Christians were destroyed. First, he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Servia, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Bologna, and other cities, which he gat out of princes' hands, not without much bloodshed. The chronicles of John Sleidan make mention, that when this Julius was made pope, he took an oath, promising to have a council within two years. But when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his wars in Italy amongst the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries, nine of his cardinals departing from him came to Milan, and there appointed a council at the city of Pisa; amongst whom the chief were Bernardine cardinal de la Croix, William cardinal of Palæstrine, Francis cardinal-archbishop of Cosenza, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoined the proctors of Maximilian the emperor, and of Charles the French king. So the council was appointed A.D. 1511, to begin on the kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this council was thus alleged, because the pope had so broken his oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any council; and also because there were divers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius, hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another council against the next year, to be begun the nineteenth day of April. The French king, understanding pope Julius to join with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, convened a council at Turin, in the month of September, in the which council these questions were proposed :

The wars
 and
 bloodshed
 of pope
 Julius II.

A council
 called to
 depose
 him.

The pope
 perjured.

Whether it was lawful for the pope to move war against any prince without cause.

(1) The pope's law giveth leave to kill all that be accursed of him.

*Henry
VII.*

Whether any prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience.

A. D.
1503.

The prag-
matical
sanction
establis-
hed.
No un-
just ex-
commu-
nication
to be
feared.

Unto which questions it was answered, that the bishop ought not to invade, and also, that it was lawful for the king to defend himself. Moreover, that the pragmatistical sanction was to be observed through the realm of France: neither that any unjust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust.

After this, the king sent to Julius the answer of his council, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a general council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdom. At length at Ravenna, in a great war, he was overcome by the French king; and at last, after much slaughter, and great bloodshed, and mortal war, this pope died A.D. 1513, the twenty-first day of February.

The History of the Turks.

The
Turks'
doings
requisite
to be
known
of Chris-
tians

If it were not that I fear to overlay this our volume with heaps of foreign histories, who have professed chiefly to treat of Acts and Monuments here done at home, I would adjoin after these popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the 'Turks' story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of Christendom. Yet, notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny and bloody victories, the ruin and subversion of so many christian churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of England, as also to other nations.

First
cause.

First, For the better explaining of the prophecies of the New Testament, as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Revelation of St. John; which scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood: of which scriptures, we mind hereafter (Christ granting) orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehearsal.

Second
cause.

Another cause is, that we may learn thereby, either with the public church to lament, with our brethren, such a great defection and decay of christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

Third
cause.

The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with ourselves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which, in the sequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourth
cause.

Fourthly: The consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks rising chiefly by our discord and dissension among ourselves, may reduce us again from our domestical wars, in killing and burning one another, to join together in christian patience and concord.

Fifth
cause.

Fifthly: But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek

for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks; which to resist, no strength of man's army is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Son of God, going with us in our battles; as among the old Israelites the ark of God's covenant and promise went with them also fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we war against the devil, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, "Sine me nihil potestis facere," that is, "Without me you can do nothing." Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the devil, or to conquer the world, "nisi fides nostra," that is, "our faith only," to which all the promises of God touching salvation be annexed; beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth he cannot tell whither: neither must we appoint God how to save the world, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set our God to school, nor comprehend his Holy Spirit within our skulls. He that made us without our council, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not resist but search his Word, and thereunto apply our will; which if we will do, all our contentions will be soon at a point. Let us therefore search the will of our God in his Word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise thereof?¹ If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without money or money-worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.² And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth St. George or St. Denis, as patrons, to the field, to fight against the Turk, leaveth Christ, no doubt, at home.

Introduction.

Christian faith necessary to be joined with outward force against the Turks

Now how we have fought these many years against the Turk, though stories keep silence, yet the success declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. He, observing the works of the law, seeketh his justice by the same: the like also do we. But neither doth he, nor do we, seek our justification as we should, that is, by faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with images, our hearts with idolatry are polluted. Our priests stink before God for adultery, being restrained from lawful matrimony. The name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We war against the Turk with our works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies: but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory; which if we did, the field were won.

Retormation of religion requisite before we fight the Turks.

(1) *Gratis venundati estis, gratis redimimini.* Essay lii.

(2) *Omnes sitiientes venite ad aquas; emite absque argento et commutatione.* Essay Iv.

*Intro-
duction.*

*Faith
getteth
victory.*

Wherefore, briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose. This hope I have, and do believe, that when the church of Christ, with the sacraments thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our justifier, all other religions, merits, traditions, images, patrons, and advocates set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquish the Turks' pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

*Sixth
cause.*

The sixth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks' history requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, who, for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christ's church, I thought it requisite, by order of history, to give this our nation also something to understand, what hath been done in other nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the name of his Son, to stop the course of the devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his faith, who are fallen from him: which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed! Amen.

*Earnest
invoca-
tion ne-
cessary,
in the
church
of Christ.*

*The place
of St. Paul
expound-
ed, speak-
ing of the
defection
to come.*

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and Saracens, first let us call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of St. Paul writing to the Thessalonians [2 Thess. ii.], in these words: "Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or by writing, or by letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed," &c. Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry expositors; some thinking this defection to mean a falling-away from the empire of Rome: some, from the obedience of the pope. But, as St. Paul little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman empire; so less he passed upon the proud obedience of the pope. What St. Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling-away of these churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

Another mystery there is in the Revelation [Apocal. xiii.], where the number of the beast is counted six hundred and sixty-six. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the first origin and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by the sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devilish sect of Mahomet.

*Et sex-
tus ange-
lus effudit
phialam
suam, &c.
expound-
ed.*

Moreover, another place there is [Apocal. xvi.], where we read, that by pouring out of the vial of God's wrath by the sixth angel, the great flood Euphrates was dried up, to let in the kings of the east; the opening of which prophecy may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming in of these Turks into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turks certain prophecies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and other places of the Old Testament, which here I omit, forasmuch as the prophecies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their

proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the Jews' kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any man's opinion, but that every man may abound in his own sense.

As touching the year and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahomet first began, histories do not fully consent, some affirming that it began A. D. 621, and in the tenth year of Heraclius, the emperor of Constantinople; in which mind is Johannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was A.D. 622. Martin Luther and John Carion refer it to the eighteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, which is A.D. 630, unto which number the computation of the Beast, signified in the Apocalypse, doth not far disagree, which numbereth the name of the beast, with three Greek letters χ , ξ , σ ; which Greek letters, after the supputation of the Grecians, make the number of 666.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahomet was born in the country of Arabia, bordering on the east part of Jewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian; his mother was an Ishmaelite, which Ishmaelites, being a people of Arabia, were called then Hagarenes; which term Mahomet afterwards turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahomet, mention was made before, where we showed, how he, making himself the highest prophet of all others, yet denieth not Christ to be a holy prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be another. Moreover, he denieth not Mary, the mother of Christ, to be a virgin, and to have conceived Christ by the Holy Ghost: affirming further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called Judas for him. He greatly commendeth also John, the son of Zachary, for a virgin, when he himself permitteth a man to have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to find; and saith, that whereas Christ and other prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compel men to his religion. The prodigious vanities, lies, and blasphemies contained in this law called Alcoran, are rather to be laughed at, than recited.

It is thought that Sergius, a Nestorian, was a great doer with Mahomet, in contriving of this lying Alcoran; and so it doth well appear by the scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth to this end, to take the divinity from the person of Christ, whom he granteth notwithstanding to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill Antichrist, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alcoran is so blanced and powdered with such divers mixtures of the Christians, Jews, and the Gentiles' laws, giving such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up circumcision, abstaining from swines' flesh, and judaical lotions, and so much standeth upon father Abraham, that this filthy Alcoran is supposed of some, not to be set out in the days of Mahomet, but that certain Jews had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death; and so it seemeth first to take its force about the number of years limited in the Apocalypse, as is aforesaid, where thus it is written: "He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty-six."

After this devilish Mahomet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give

Introduction.

The time of Mahomet, the false prophet, expounded.

Mahomet, of the stock of the Ishmaelites, of Arabia. Prodigious lies and blasphemies of the Alcoran.

Mahomet's Alcoran mingled with divers laws

Introduction.

Damas-
cus sub-
dued by
the
Saracens.
Mahomet
put to
flight by
Cosroes,
king of
the
Persians.

*See
Appendix.*

Jerusa-
lem be-
sieged.

his law, and that they who will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the Alcoran); and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebel against the emperor, because their stipends were not paid them by the officers of the emperor Heraclius, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria, bordering near unto him, and first subdued Mecca, then Damascus; and further, increasing in power, he entered into Egypt, and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes, the king of Persia, encountered with a puissant army, overthrew the Saracens, and put Mahomet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turks, who, afterwards joining with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians.¹

After the death of this beast, who, as some say, was poisoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer, his father-in-law, or, as Bibliander affirmeth, his son-in-law, who took upon him the government of the Saracens, and got the city Gaza, and besieged also Jerusalem two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief city Damascus.

After him followed Omar or Ahumer, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

Kingdom
of Persia
subdued
to the
Saracens.

The third king of the Saracens, after Mahomet, was Othman; then followed Hali, and after him Muhavia: who, after a siege of seven years, obtained and got the christian city of Cæsarea; also overcame the Persians, with their king Orimasda, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the 666 years prophesied of in the Revelation of St. John, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Africa, and then Asia, as in the process of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Con-
stans, the
emperor,
overcome
by them.

Not long after Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, succeeded Constans, his nephew, who, in the thirteenth year of his empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was overthrown of Muhavias aforesaid, A. D. 655; which Constans, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his wars, it was no great marvel, considering that he had slain his brother Theodosius before at home; moreover, that he lived in incestuous matrimony: also that, being inclined to certain new sects, he could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew those who admonished him thereof. The said Constans, going afterwards to Italy, was also overcome by the Lombards,² &c. The Saracens, after this victory, spoiled also Rhodes.

Rhodes
spoiled
by the
Saracens.

Sultans
first
called.

Although these cursed Saracens, in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domestical sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then sultans, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and a great part of Asia, about the term of four hundred years; till at length the Saracen king who ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aid of the Turks, to fight with him against the sultan of Babylon: which Turks, by little and little,

(1) Ex Munstero.

(2) Murder commonly prospereth not with the Lord.

surprised upon the sultan of Persia, and, not long after, putting him out of place, usurped the kingdom of Persia; who afterwards went further, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks' dominion.

*Intro-
duction.*

These Turks, after they had thus overcome many countries and provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia and Europe, began to divide their kingdoms and countries amongst themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly war contended for the bounds of those kingdoms and dominions, in the mean time four of the principal families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole empire amongst themselves. And yet they also, not so contented, fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war, and slaughter (no doubt by the just judgment of God against his blasphemous enemies), that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out. For it is evident that there are few now remaining, who are Turks indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great empire is not upholden, but by the strength and power of soldiers, who have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahomet's religion; so that even their own natural language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain families of their nobility and gentry.

*The first
rising of
the
Turks.*

*The
Turks
domi-
nions
parted
into four
families.*

*See
Appendix.*

These four families above-mentioned, with their captains and armies, about A. D. 1330, went raging throughout all Asia and Europe, and every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissension and discord, falsehood, idleness, inconstancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity, among christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For, by the wilful defection and backsliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many, desiring the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahomet, and his devilish sect; both because fleshly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of men incline. And again, such as be profane and without the fear of God (whereof there is an infinite number in the church in all ages), are wont commonly to judge of religion, according to the success of realms and kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst men, have inquired and do inquire, whether there be any church of God distinct from other nations; what it is, and where it is: especially, forasmuch as the greatest part of men, both in the old time (when the four monarchies flourished in order) were ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahomet prevaieth and reigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with man's reason, that a small number, both miserable and also enfeebled and broken with many battles, should be regarded and loved of God; and the others, flourishing in all wealth, prosperity, victories, authority, and power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authority, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the Turks hath

*Dissen-
sions of
the Chris-
tians
make the
Turks
strong.*

Introduction.

No imperial country in all the Turkish dominions.

Description of the Turks' inordinate empire.

Christian kingdoms and churches destroyed by the Turks, are a warning for us, whom God hath yet spared.

The family of Ottoman.

been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no imperial dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations only, where the heavenly doctrine of the gospel is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civil ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign; where lawful judgment is exercised; where virtue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turks, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful empires, because they dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, policies, righteous judgment, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the empire of the Turks been hitherto, but most deadly, cruel, and perpetual war, to work all mischief, destruction, and desolation? to subvert good laws, cities, kingdoms, policies, and to enlarge their cruel power and dominion? the stay and strength whereof is not love and favour, proceeding of virtue and justice, as in lawful and well governed empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satan's malice and fury: which kind of dominion and tyranny hath been condemned by the voice of God many years ago; the testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success thereof, should fall away and forsake the Son of God.¹

Wherefore, let us not seek for any imperial state in that barbarity; but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certain remnants of the Roman empire: and let us call upon him daily, with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power, joined with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, prevail not against the poor congregations and little remnant of his church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble christian kingdoms and churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full possession; whose state was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads! For though the Turk seemeth to be far off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand and worse, if worse may be: to overrun us; to lay our land waste; to scatter us amongst the infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Son of God!

Now, although these four families above-mentioned long continued together in bloody wars and deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny, and subduing the other three families, took upon him the government alone, and so became the first monarch or emperor that reigned amongst them, called Ottoman; of whom all that reigned after him were called Ottomans: who, succeeding orderly of his line, have occupied the same dominion and

(1) Ezek. xxxix.; Apoc. xxi.

seat of the Turks, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this present time, who have been the number of twelve; of the which twelve, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) severally and compendiously something to treat, briefly abstracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, such specialities, as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known.

*Ottoman
and
Orchan.*

OTTOMAN, THE FIRST GREAT EMPEROR, OR TYRANT, OF THE TURKS. A. D. 1300.

*See
Appendix.*

This Ottoman was at first of poor estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, coming of a base progeny, and of rustical parents; but through his valiantness and activity in war, he got him a great name amongst the Turks. For he, being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in war, and gathering together by great subtlety a multitude of common soldiers, began to make war, and by conquest and victories to advance himself and his family. First, he began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers, and afterwards he attempted to set upon all men. Neither did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him; for now the princes and captains of the Turks, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell to domestical and inward war, with all the power they could.

*Inward
war
among
the
Turks.*

Ottoman, having this occasion very fit and meet to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in a short time began to grow in authority, and first set upon certain towns, as he saw opportunity to serve him; of which towns some he took by force, some by yielding; others he spoiled and overthrew, to terrify the rest; thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottoman, by occasion whereof, he, within ten years' space, subdued Bithynia, and all the provinces about Pontus: also Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia; Aneyra, a city in Phrygia; Sinope, a city in Galatia; and Sebastia, a city in Cappadocia. And thus still prevailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret judgment of God against that nation, or else because God would have them so far and so cruelly to prevail, for the punishment of the sins of other nations, like as it was prophesied before, that such a kingdom there should be, of Gog and Magog.¹

*The
coming
up of
Ottoman.*

This Ottoman, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died A. D. 1326, and departed to his Mahomet; leaving behind him three sons, of whom Orchan, being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

ORCHAN, THE SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Orchan, the youngest of the sons of Ottoman, after he had slain his two brethren, took the regiment of the Turks after his father;

(1) Ezek. xxxviii.

*Orchan
and
Amurath.*

*King-
doms and
cities
subdued
by the
Turks.*

*Civil war
among
the
Greeians.*

*By the
discord of
Chris-
tians, the
Turks
increase.*

who, after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, converted his power further to enlarge his father's dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lyeaonia, Phrygia, and Caria: all which countries, being within the compass of Asia, unto the sea-side of the Hellespont, and the sea Euxine, he added to the Turkish empire. Also he won Prusa, which was the metropolitan city of Bithynia, which then he made the chief seat of the Turks' empire. Besides these, moreover, he conquered Nicea, and got Nicomedia: all which were before christian cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the christian princes in Greece to cease their civil wars, and to join and accord among themselves: such debate and variance was then between Cantacuzen, on the Greeks' part, and Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople. By reason of this, the Turks' aid was sent for out of Asia, to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both; who, if they had, according to their profession, so well joined in brotherly unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had Orchan so prevailed in getting Prusa from the Greeks, nor had the Turks so soon presumed into Europe as afterwards they did. Orchan, after these victories, when he had reigned thirty-four years, was struck, as some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusa. The opinion of others is, that he, fighting against the Tartars, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slain himself, A.D. 1360.

AMURATH, THE THIRD EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*Amurath
seeketh
occasion
to invade
Europe.*

*First
coming of
the Turks
into Eu-
rope.*

The Greek writers do hold that Orchan had two sons, Soliman and Amurath, of which two, first Soliman reigned, albeit not long. After him followed Amurath, who, after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade Europe: to whose ambitious purpose the domestical wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the princes of Greece (whose captain was Cantacuzen), and Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople: whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Greeians, most unwisely sent for Amurath, to help him, who, being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him 12,000 Turks into Thraee: but first he used all delays he could of crafty policy, to the intent that the Greeks first should waste their strength and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterwards to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

*Covetous-
ness of
the Chris-
tians
bringeth
over the
Turks.*

The Turks thus being called into Europe by the Christians, whether they, tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed Amurath, their emperor, to make invasion, or whether Amurath, of his own head, thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into Europe with 60,000 Turks, falling upon the Greeks, being wasted and spent with their long wars and battles before. The pretence of the devilish Turk was to aid and assist the emperor Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him.

The christian ships of the Ligurians for money were hired to conduct them over, taking for every soldier a piece of gold.¹

Thus the 'Turks' army, being conveyed over by the Grecian sea called the Hellespont, first got Callipolis, with other towns and cities bordering about the sea; and there planting themselves, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, advanced their power further into Thrace, and there won Philipopolis; then got Adrianople, which was not far from Constantinople; and there Amurath made his chief seat. Then began Paleologus, the emperor, at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurath. When the Turks had expugned thus a great part of Thrace, they extended forth their army into Mæsia, which they soon subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the Bessi and Triballi, they entered into Servia and Bulgaria, where, joining battle with Lazarus, Despota or prince of Servia, and with other dukes of Dalmatia and Epirus, they wan of them the field, and put them to the worse; where Lazarus, being taken and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certain faithful client or servant, who, to revenge his master's death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurath reigned twenty-three years, and was slain A.D. 1383.

*Amurath
and
Bajazet.*

*Thrace
gotten by
the Turks*

*The
Turks
enter
into
Mæsia.*

*Example
of a faith-
ful ser-
vant.*

*Death of
Amurath.*

BAJAZET, THE FOURTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*See
Appendix.*

The power of the Turks began to increase in Europe, what time Bajazet, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entered the possession of the Turks' kingdom. This Bajazet had two brethren, Soliman and Saucés; which Saucés had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Soliman was slain by his brother. Thus Bajazet, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, reduced his imperial seat from Prusa, a city of Bithynia, unto Adrianople, intending with himself to subdue both Asia and Europe to his own power. First he set upon the Servians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his father's death; where he gave the overthrow to Marcus, the Despota, with all the nobility of the Servians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the confines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thrace, moreover, he brought likewise under his yoke, only Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of Greece, prevailing against the countries of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocis, and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto Adrianople, he laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the emperor, who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germans, came down to Hungary, and toward Servia, against the Turk. Bajazet, hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with 60,000 horsemen, came to Nicopolis, where he, encountering with them, overthrew all the christian army,

*Marcus
Despota
slain by
the Turk
Other
christian
countries
con-
quered.*

*Constantinople
besieged
eight
years.*

(1) Ex Peucero et aliis.

Bajazet. and took John, the captain of the French power, prisoner. Sigismund, who before, in the council of Constance, had burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, hardly escaped by flying. Bajazet, after the victory got, carried away duke John, with five others, in bands, into Prusa, where, before his face, he caused all the other christian prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterwards the said John, being ransomed with 200,000 crowns, was delivered. Some authors refer this story to the time of Calpine, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

The Christians overthrown of the Turks. Bajazet, the cruel tyrant, after this victory won, and tyranny showed upon the Christians, returned again to his siege of Constantinople, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the providence of God had found such a means, that Tamerlane, king of Parthia, with a hundred thousand horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood overrunning Asia, and pressing upon Syria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules, the son of Bajazet, prisoner, and afterwards slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his prisoners as Bajazet had done before upon the Christians, insomuch that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude; of whom he caused twelve thousand, at one time, to be overridden and trodden down under his horses' feet. By reason of this, Bajazet the tyrant was enforced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to return his power into Asia; where he, near the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlane.

Tamerlane stirred up of revenge the Christians. The fight between these two was long and great on both sides, which was A.D. 1402, and the seventh year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pammonia. But the victory of this battle fell to Tamerlane at length, in which, as Munsterus writeth, were slain 200,000 Turks; among whom Bajazet the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner, and, to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and so, being enclosed in an iron grate (whom, before, all Greece could not hold), was led about and showed through all Asia, to be scorned and laughed at; and, moreover, was used instead of a footstool to Tamerlane, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his horse. Some add also, that he was made like a dog to feed under Tamerlane's table. The tyranny of this Bajazet against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Valerian the Roman emperor above mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for, as Sapor, king of the Persians, did then with Valerian, in the time of the eighth persecution of the primitive church, so likewise was Bajazet, this persecutor, worthily handled by Tamerlane, king of the Parthians, as in manner above-said.

Bajazet raiseth his siege from Constantinople. Tamerlane, after this conquest, passed with his army into Mesopotamia, Egypt, and all Syria, where he, victoriously subduing the cities and munitions of the Turks, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in black, signifying thereby mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoils gotten of the Turks, he returned into his country again, and there died, April 1st, A.D. 1405.

See Appendix.

Bajazet overcome by Tamerlane, the just hand of God upon a cruel persecutor.

Great victories of Tamerlane in Asia.

Sebastianus Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlane, recordeth that he had in his army 1,200,000 men: and that he overcame the Parthians, Seythians, Iberians, Albanians, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the river Euphrates with 600,000 footmen, and 400,000 horsemen, he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the flood Tanais¹ unto the Nile in Egypt, and was called 'terror orbis,' the 'terror of the world.'² He left behind him two sons, who, falling in discord for their possessions, lost all again that their father got.

*Bajazet
and
Calepine.*

In the mean time Bajazet, in the second year of his captivity, died, leaving behind him divers sons, Jesus or Joshua the eldest, Mulsuman, Moses, Celebine or Calepine, Jesus the younger, Mustapha, and Hali, of whom, first Jesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Mulsuman, which Mulsuman afterward was delivered to Moses his brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Moses had also the like end by his brother Calepine, having his neck broken with a bow-string, which was then the usual manner among the Turks in killing their brethren. The same Calepine, sparing only the life of Mustapha his brother, condemned him to perpetual prison. Jesus the younger was baptized, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turks, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the Turks, what they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private wars otherwise occupied with themselves!

*A genera-
tion of
vipers.*

CALEPINE, THE FIFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Calepine or Celebine, was the son of Bajazet, and of four brethren the eldest; who being all taken captives by the Parthians, he only escaped and obtained his father's kingdom. This Calepine, encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Greeks among themselves and other nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismund. This Sigismund, seeing now Bajazet to be overcome and taken by Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruel enemies to the name and religion of Christ, and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army fighting before with Bajazet at Nicopolis, a city in Mæsia; with great power made war against Calepine, at Columbetz, a town in Servia, as is also before-mentioned; but as unluckily, and with as little success, as he did before against Bajazet his father: for in that battle were slain of the Christians to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest utterly discomfited, the king himself escaping so hardly, that he entered not again into his kingdom for the space of eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under Bajazet; others refer this battle to Amurath; but, howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians.³ He reigned but six years, and died very young, A. D. 1410.

*See
Appendix.*

*Over-
throw of
Sigis-
mund,
fighting
against
the
Turk.*

(1) Tanais is the uttermost flood in the north side, and the Nile the uttermost flood on the south side of Asia.

(2) Ex Seb. Munstero Cosmograph., lib. iv.

(3) Some stories record this conflict to be after the time of this Turk.

*Orchan II.
and
Moses.
Mahomet
and
Amurath.*

ORCHAN, AND MOSES HIS UNCLE, THE SIXTH AFTER OTTOMAN.

*Diver-
sity in
histories.*

After the captivity of Bajazet above-mentioned, histories diversely do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepine, only make mention of the sons of Bajazet, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahomet. The Latin stories, writing of the children of Bajazet, and of their succession, do not therein agree; some affirming, that Bajazet had two sons, Orchan, surnamed Calepine, and Mahomet his brother, who within two years slew the said Calepine, and entered his dominion. Others attribute to Bajazet more sons; as is above-rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazet only these two sons, Celebine and Mustapha; and hold that Calepine or Celebine had two sons; to wit, Orchan and Mahomet: and add, moreover, that the said Orchan, being somewhat young, was slain by his uncle Moses, who governed but two years: for Mahomet, to revenge his brother's death, slew Moses, and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchan.

*Murder
revenged
with
murder.*

MAHOMET, THE SEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*Walla-
chia as-
saulted
by Ma-
homet.*

*The
Turk's
seat
at Adri-
anople.*

This Mahomet, whether he was the son of Bajazet, or else of Calepine, converted to himself alone the kingdom, or tyranny rather, of the murdering Turks, who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the country called Wallachia, lying not far from the flood Danube, between Hungary and Thraee. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, which before Tamerlane had alienated from the Turks. This Mahomet planted his chief imperial seat in Adrianople, not far from Constantinople, within the country of Thraee. In some writers the conflict between Sigismund and the great Turk, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahomet, than to Calepine; of which conflict mention is above made in the story of Sigismund. This Mahomet reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died A. D. 1421: others affirm seventeen years.

AMURATH, THE EIGHTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*Musta-
pha mur-
dered by
Amu-
rath, his
nephew.*

Amurath, as Philelphus saith, was the son of Celebine; as Leonicus Chalcondylastes saith, of Mahomet. Whose son soever he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of Bajazet mention was made before of Mustapha, his son, who was condemned to perpetual prison by Calepine, his brother. This Mustapha, escaping out of his brother's prison, was conveyed to the Greeks, where he remained long in custody, till at length they, understanding the purpose of Amurath, set him up with sufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight against the said Amurath, his nephew. But, in conclusion, he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broke with a bow-string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

The Greeks then terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the Turk; but, when that would not be granted, they procured unto them Mustapha, the other brother to Amurath, being of the age of thirteen years; who likewise, being armed of the Greeks, got the city of Nice in Bithynia from Amurath, his brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same city, and brought to Amurath; who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Mustapha had done before. Amurath, being now out of all fear and doubt of brethren and kinsfolk to rise against him, converted all his power against the Greeks: and first ranging throughout Thrace, where divers cities yielded unto him, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, from thence he set forward to the noble and famous city Thessalonica, being then under the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a city in Greece, bordering upon Macedonia, to the citizens whereof St. Paul writeth, foreshowing unto them, in his second epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of the Lord [2 Thess. ii.], of which apostasy or defection what the holy apostle doth mean, this story of the Turks may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the country about Athens, Bœotia likewise, Ætolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnesus, unto the coast of Corinth (to which St. Paul also wrote two other epistles), were brought in bondage and slavery unto the Turk.

Amurath.
The Turk murdereth his brothers. Amurath set against the Greeks. Thrace subdued to the Turk.

The defection spoken of by St. Paul declared.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adjoineth to Macedonia named Albania, reigned then one Johannes Castriotus; who, perceiving himself too weak to match with the Turk's power, made with the Turk this convention, that he should have Croia, a famous city in Greece, and also gave to him his three sons for hostages: to wit, Constantine, Reposius, and George.

Croia given to the Turk. The three sons of Castriotus, hostages with the Turk.

In this George such towardness of noble courage, such vigour of mind and strength of body singularly did appear, that the Turk caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and manner in his own court; where he, being traded up, did so shoot up as well in feats of activity, as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals; insomuch that he was named 'Scander-Beg,' which soundeth as much as 'Alexander Magnus.'

After this Alexander was grown up to mature ripeness of age, and was well trained up in feats of war, he was sent out by the Turk, to war against the king of Caramania, the Turk's enemy. In that expedition he sped himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with a horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other; whom he so valiantly overthrew, that he won great renown with the Turk: insomuch that he, trusting to the Turk's favour, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst ask of the Turk the grant of his father's dominion to be given unto him; which request although Amurath the Turk did not deny him, yet notwithstanding, perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, he by subtle means and policy slipped out of the Turk's court, and came to Epirus his own inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croia. The other cities, of their voluntary mind, yielded themselves unto him; who then, gathering unto him the people of Epirus and Mace-

Valiant acts of Scander-Beg.

Scander-Beg stealeth away from the Turk, his country.

Amurath.
Amu-
rath's
victories

donia (who were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they stuck unto him), so manfully and valiantly behaved himself, that against all the puissance both of Amurath, and also of Mahomet, he maintained his own, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies many years together. But, to return again to the course of Amurath's victories: after he had thus prevailed (as is before signified) against the east parts of Europe and Greece, and had converted thus for the dominion of Epirus, he invaded Illyricum (otherwise called now Slavonia), containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia: which countries after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania and Bosnia; of which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Wallachia and Servia, upon hope to conquer all Paannonia.

An un-
godly
print of a
christian
father, to
marry his
daughter
to the
Turk.

There reigned at the same time in Servia, as Despota or prince, one named George, who made great suit to the Turk for truce and peace, promising to give his daughter to marriage; for by the Turk's law they may marry as many wives as they lust. It was not long after Amurath had married the daughter of George, but he, contrary to his league and promise, made war upon his father-in-law, and expelled him out of his kingdom, taking from him divers cities, as Scopia, Novomonte, Sophia, and all Mæsia. George himself fled into Hungary, leaving behind him his son, to defend the town of Sinderovia. Amurath, understanding of the flight of George, his father-in-law, compassed the city of Sinderovia with a strong siege; which when he in few days had expugned, he took his wife's brother, the son of George, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes with a bason red hot before them; and, after that, led him about with him in derision, in spite of his cowardly father.¹

See
Appendix.

Cruelty
of the
Turk.

Belgrade
besieged
by the
Turk.

Servia being thus won and gotten, Amurath, thinking to go further into Hungary, besieged the city called Belgrade, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the providence of God found means, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lack of victual and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

Johannes
Huniades
the Vai-
vode.

In the mean time Johannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recovered part of Servia, and all Moldavia; against whom Amurath the Turk, with a mighty army, moved into Paannonia. But Huniades, with the power and aid of Ladislaus, king of Poland (but especially by the power of the Lord), did soon infringe the puissance of the Turk, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Christians the greatest part of Servia and Bulgaria.

Five vic-
tories of
Huniades
in one
day.
The
Pasha or
duke of
the Turks
over-
thrown.

In this battle, Huniades had five sundry conflicts with the Turks on one day, and with five victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and overthrow the great captain of Amurath, called the Pasha or duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor), that he slew of the Turks that day to the number of thirty thousand. Amurath, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his fear with stout countenance, sent for Carambeius, his principal stay and captain, with a new power brought out of Asia to

(1) Ez Christoph. Richerio Gallo, et Gasp. Peuc. et aliis.

assist him in his wars. This Carambeius, in the Downs of 'Transylvania, Ladislaus the aforesaid king of Poland (the Lord so working) through the industry of Johannes Huniades so received and with such celerity oppressed him unprovided, that all his stout and sturdy army either was slain downright, or else put to flight and disparked, Carambeius the captain being himself taken prisoner in the same field.

These victories of Huniades struck no little terror to Amurath, in-
 somuch that for distress of mind he was ready to destroy himself, as
 some do write: but, being confirmed by Hali Bey Pasha, his counsellor,
 he kept himself within the straits of the mount Rhodope; who then,
 hearing that the king of Caramania invaded the same time the country
 of Bithynia, and Pontus in Asia, was glad to take truce with Ladis-
 laus and Huniades upon such conditions as they listed to make
 themselves: which conditions were these, that Amurath should depart
 clearly from all the region of Servia, and should remove from thence
 all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the
 same; also he should restore George (Despota, which is to say, prince
 of Servia) unto his possession, and set his children free, whom he
 had in captivity, and restore them to their inheritance. Item, that
 he should make no more claim nor title to the country of Moldavia
 above mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had lost;
 and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries
 against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turks being
 agreed, so was a truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and
 with solemn oath between them confirmed.

This done, Amurath the tyrant addresseth himself toward Asia,
 to resist the invasion of the king of Caramania: at which time pope
 Eugene, so soon as he heard the Turk to be returned into Asia,
 sendeth Julian Cæsarini, his cardinal (whose story is before touched),
 unto Ladislaus the aforesaid king, with full dispensation and abso-
 lution to break his oath and league with the Turk: promising,
 moreover, great hope of aid, if he would go in arms stoutly against
 the tyrant.

Here by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of pro-
 mise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there ever any war
 prospered, which was taken in hand by the pope's counsel: so was
 there never any counsel of the pope that brought with it more detri-
 ment to Christianity than this. But the pope belike thought, that
 as he might lawfully break promise with John Huss, and with other
 Christians, so also he needed not to observe any league or truce
 taken with the Turk: but it turned much otherwise than the pope's
 blind brains imagined, as by the sequel is to be seen.¹ For Ladis-
 laus, being thus excited by the unadvised and sinister instigation
 of pope Eugene, contrary to the truce established a little before,
 set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Walla-
 chia and Bulgaria, came to Varna, a town of Bulgaria, where he fell
 sick.

It was not long but the Turk, having thereof intelligence, left his
 wars begun with the king of Caramania, and with great journeys made

Amurath.
 Another
 victory
 of Hu-
 niades.

The great
 Turk
 brought
 to great
 distress.

He seek-
 eth truce
 of the
 Chris-
 tians.

See
 Appenz.

Truce
 between
 them for
 ten years.

Amurath
 returneth
 into Asia.

The
 pope's
 dispensa-
 tion and
 absolu-
 tion
 abused.

His rash
 counsel
 pernicious
 to
 Christen-
 dom.

He
 breaketh
 truce
 made be-
 tween the
 Chris-
 tians and
 the Turk

(1) Nothing prospereth that is taken in hand by the pope's setting on.

Amurath. haste into Europe, passing over by the straits near to Callipolis, where all the Italian navy still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardliness, would not stir one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurath was come to Adrianople in Thrace, using such celerity as no man looked for, within eight days he was in Bulgaria, and there encamped himself against Ladislaus. The day of battle being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades was himself there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julian the cardinal, and the pope's clergy. The fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of blood. It seemed at first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turks; but the priests and prelates who were at the field (who had been more fit to have been in the church), seeing the Turks to begin to fly, unskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they, leaving the other standings of the Christians naked, gave great advantage to the Turks, with their darts and shot to disturb the Christian ranks, by which occasion Amurath, enclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victory; in which field, Ladislaus, the young king of Poland, having his horse first killed under him, was stricken down and slain. The pope's bishops, flying to save themselves, fell into the marshes, and were there destroyed, sustaining a dirty death, condign to their filthy falsehood and untruth. Julian the cardinal, who with the pope was the chief doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skin. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part were drowned in the marshes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold; watching and wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God being reserved to the further profit and commodity of Christendom.

The battle of Varna, between Ladislaus and Amurath.

The popish prelates, the cause of losing the field.

A just punishment upon them. Julian the cardinal slain in the war.

Huniades escapeth.

His worthy commendation.

See Appendix

Amurath taketh his voyage against the Greeks.

This John Huniades, the worthy warrior, was born in Wallachia, being earl of Bistritz, of all captains that ever went against the Turks most famous and singular; prudent in wit, discreet in council, expert and politic in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captain. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurath and Mahomet, through the Lord's might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt, and the terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was unto the Grecians, so was he set up of God to be as a wall or bulwark of all Europe against the cruel Turks and enemies of Christ and of his Christians; neither was there any king or prince that ever achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the public utility of all Europe, as did he; and that not only in the days of this Amurath, but also of Mahomet his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to be seen. This battle of Amurath against the Christians, at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought A.D. 1444.

Amurath, by reason of this victorious overthrow against the Christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scander-Beg. And first, coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking

down the wall about the straits of Corinth, he encountered with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden coming he oppressed, with all the Greeks' army, ere they were provided. Paleologus the emperor, after that, did build up the wall again, but, at the Turks' bidding, he was compelled to undo it again; which wall afterwards the Venetians did repair. After the demolition of the wall, Amurath, entering into Peloponnesus, took divers towns and cities, as Sicyon, and Patræ; and moreover made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries unto them.

Amurath.

Successes of the Turk

The next year after this battle of Amurath, fought against the Christians at Varna, the Turk, being now about the parts of Greece, purposed to bend all his force and main against the country of Epirus belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scander-Beg. Of this Scander-beius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turk's court, from whence we declared also how subtilly he conveyed himself, and came to the possession of his own patrimony of Epirus; which Epirus, this noble and victorious Scander-Beg (whom the Lord also had raised up the same time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turks) valiantly defended against all the power of Amurath; insomuch that he discomfited and vanquished seven of the most expert bassas or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen soldiers, dislodged them from their tents, and expulsed them utterly out of all Epirus. Also when Amurath himself, with his whole puissance, had environed about the city of Croia with cruel siege and ordnance out of measure, yet, notwithstanding, the said Scander-Beg (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

Memorable acts of Scander-Beg against Amurath.

Seven captains of the Turks overcome by Scander-Beg.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurath, to keep his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gave himself unto a religious order, living a contemplative life with certain other priests joined unto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his realm to the hands of Hali, one of the princes; for thou must understand, good reader, that the Turks also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more than we Christians are without our friars and monks.

Amurath renounces his dominion, and maketh himself a Turkish monk.

In the mean time, while Amurath, this Turkish tyrant, was cloistered up in his monkish religion, Johannes Huniades, in the kingdom of Hungary, and Georgius Castriotus, in Greece, kept a great stir against the Turks. By reason whereof, Amurath was taken again from his monkish vow and profession, and brought again into the field: for first Huniades² had rescued the whole country of Hungary, and had propulsed moreover all the might of the Turks far from Servia. And although the peevish practice of George, prince of Servia, had oftentimes disclosed his councils unto the Turks, whereby twice he was brought into danger, yet, notwithstanding, through the Lord's gracious protection, he was preserved and delivered by the said George unto the Hungarians again, and, after that, manfully vanquished the Turks; so that they had no resting-place about those parts of Servia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived.

Two christian warriors in Europe stirred up of God to vanquish the Turks.

(1) This Epirus is a country in Grecia, bordering near to the parts of Macedonia.
 (2) This John Huniades is reported, of twenty battles with the Turk, to lose but two.

*Amurath
and
Mahomet
II.*

Epirus
and Ma-
cedonia,
defended
by Scan-
der-Beg.
Amurath
over-
come.
*See
Appendix.*

*Janiza-
ries
among
the
Turks.*

On the other side, in Greece, Castriotus Scander-Beg so foiled the Turk in defence of his country, Epirus and Macedonia, and kept Amurath so short, that not only he was not able to win any great town in all Epirus; but also coming from Epirus, in the straits he was so entangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to give battle: in which battle he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slain, that, for grief and sorrow conceived, he, falling into a raving sickness, was transported out of his pavilion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madness died, after he had reigned thirty-four years, which was about A.D. 1451.

This Amurath first ordained the order of the Janizaries, who were the men-children of such Christians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahomet's law, and exercised them in the same feats of war as he did his own people; and after that they came to man's estate, he named them Janizaries, that is to say, soldiers of a strange country, and made them to guard his person. They wear on their head, instead of a helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of wool, and in so many folds about their head, that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth down on the back with a tail, and before, on the forehead, it is garnished with gold and silver. They were wont to use bows and lances in the field, but now they use dags, as our horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but eight thousand in their garri-son, but now there be twice so many. This, of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turks, is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved; and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet, and to be professed enemies of Christ, and his church, to make war against Heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own children, born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel enemies, and to cut our throats with their own hands! This servitude of mind is far greater than death itself; which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel enemy.

*Lamenta-
ble slave-
ry of
christian
men's
children
under the
Turk.*

MAHOMET THE SECOND, THE NINTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

*Mahomet
the ninth
emperor
after Ot-
toman.*

Amurath left behind him three sons, born of the daughter of the Despota of Servia, Mahomet being twenty years of age, the second son called Turcines, the third named Calepine. This Turcines being an infant, and but eighteen months old, was strangled at the commandment of the Turk by his servant Moses, himself being there present, and beholding the horrible murder. And when Moses, the executor of the murder, had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one, to govern the empire: wherefore Moses

*His ty-
ranny in
murder-
ing his
brethren.*

was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the child understood, she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he, to mitigate the rage of the mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executor of her son's death, delivered the said Moses bound into her hands; she then, in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side, took out his liver, and threw it to the dogs to be devoured.

The third son, called Calepine, who was but six months old, the aforesaid Amurath, his father, commended to the custody of Hali Pasha, one of his nobles, who, to gratify and please the tyrant, betrayed the infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he, at the tyrant's commandment, was strangled. Some affirm, that instead of Calepine, another child was offered unto the tyrant, and that Calepine was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to pope Calixtus, where he was baptized, and afterwards came into Germany, to Frederic the emperor, and there was honourably entertained, and kept in Austria during his life: where note how the merciful providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the devil's mouth. And note, moreover, the aforesaid Hali Pasha, the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not unrevenged.¹ For Mahomet, understanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to have his riches: for this tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody Mahomet began his regiment with horrible murder, after the example of other cursed tyrants, his predecessors.

Although this Mahomet, notwithstanding that he came of a christian mother, being the daughter of the Despota of Servia, and by her was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of christian religion and manners, yet he, soon forgetting all, gave himself to Mahomet's religion; and yet so, that he, being addicted to neither religion, became an atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddess of good fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of men, who believe that God, by his providence, governeth and regardeth the state of human things on earth.

After this Mahomet had heard of the victories and conquests of others his predecessors, and had understanding how Bajazet lay eight years about Constantinople, and could not win it; he, dispraising Bajazet, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But, first, having a privy hatred against the city of Athens, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murdering Mahomet, first of all, taketh his viage to subvert and destroy the city aforesaid; being a famous school of all good learning and discipline: against which city he did so furiously rage, for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse, and fosterer of good arts and sciences. Wherefore he commanded the city to be rased and utterly subverted; and where-

Mahomet II.

Hali Pasha a traitor to his master.

Horrible parricide of the abominable Turk.

God's providence to those whom he listeth to save.

Mahomet first setteth upon Athens.

His fury against the city and school of Athens.

(1) Note here God's punishment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.

Mahomet II.

soever any monuments or books could be found, he caused them to be cast into dirty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirpating and abolishing of all good literature: and if he understood any to lament the case and ruin of that noble place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Siege and taking of Constantinople.

Thus the famous and ancient school of Athens being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his army and power into Thrace, where, in all haste, he, gathering his power together both by sea and land, with a mighty multitude compassed the city of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, A.D. 1453; and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the emperor Constantine slain. As touching the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting of this city, and what slaughter there was of men, women, and children, what calamity and misery were there to be seen, forasmuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to repeat the same.¹ This only is not to be omitted, touching three principal causes of the overthrow of this city; whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those citizens, who, hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turk, after the taking of the city, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the treasures and riches to be hidden under the ground, he commanded the earth to be digged up, and the foundations of the houses to be searched: where, when he had found treasures incredible, "What," quoth he, "how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great riches as here are, and plenty of all things?"² The second cause was the absence of the navy of the Venetians, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either for that the city of Constantinople, fifteen years before, did yield to the bishop of Rome, as is before to be seen; or else, because, as in some writers it is evident, the images were there received and maintained in their churches, and by the Turks the same time destroyed.

An image of the crucifix in Constantinople.

Johannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this city, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the crucifix, being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turk took, and writing this superscription upon the head of it, "Hic est christianorum Deus," i. e. "This is the God of the Christians," gave it to his soldiers to be scorned; and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made every man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast, good reader! by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having images in our temples, contrary to the express commandment of God in his Word. For if St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, saith, "We know Christ now no more after the flesh;" how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind stocks and images set up in our temples,

Offences given to the infidels, by images in churches.

(1) See Vol. iii. p. 722.—Ep.

(2) Ex Johanne Ramo, lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

serving for no other purpose, but for the infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke God's vengeance? which by the like example, I fear, may also fall upon other cities, where such images and idolatrous superstition are maintained; whereof God grant Vienna to take heed betimes, which hath been so long, and yet is, in such great danger of the Turk, and polluted with so many images, and plain idolatry!

Mahomet II.

Vienna admonished.

In summa, to make the story short, such was the cruelty of these Turks in winning the city, that when Mahomet had given license to the soldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all Constantinople which did not either flow with christian blood, or else was not polluted with abominable abusing of maids, wives, and matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the citizens, some they murdered; some they roasted upon spits; of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with famine; into the wounds of others they put salt, the more terribly to torment them; insomuch that one of them contended with another, who could devise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place where the city was before, seemed now to be no city, but a slaughter-house or shambles of christian men's bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also of Constantine the emperor was found; whose head being brought to Mahomet, he commanded it to be carried upon a spear through the whole city, for a public spectacle and derision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of the captives, which seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his table, but he put every day some of the nobles to death, no less to fill his cruel mind with blood, than his body was filled with wine; which he used to do so long as any of the nobles of that city were left alive. And of the other sort also, as the stories do credibly report, there passed no day in which he did not orderly slay more than three hundred persons; the residue he gave to his rascal soldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would: where is to be noted, that as Constantine the son of Helena was the first emperor of Constantinople, so Constantine the son also of Helena was the last emperor thereof.

Cruel murder by the Turks in Constantinople.

Its lamentable destruction.

Bloody cruelty of the Turk against the Christians.

Not far from the said city of Constantinople there was another little city called Pera, and once called Galatia, situated by the seaside; which, hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the city flaming with fire, sent certain of their chief men with speed to Mahomet, declaring unto him, that they neither had sent any help to the city of Constantinople, nor yet wrought any detriment to any of his army: wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable unto them and spare them, and not punish the guiltless with the guilty. Mahomet, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they submitted themselves, and that they would rather resist him, if they had been able, yet he received for that time the submission of the messengers: but, sending with them his ambassador into the city, he commanded also his army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the city, which although it was greatly suspected and disliked of the citizens, yet they durst not otherwise

The city of Pera yieldeth, for fear.

Mahomet II.

The city spoiled.

Drunken Mahomet false of promise.

The merciful providence of God in saving his people.

Constantinople made the imperial seat of the Turk. The siege of Belgrade.

See Appendix.

Forty thousand Turks slain.

Noble act of a Bohemian in defence of his country.

do, but suffer them to enter. This being done, the ambassador gave a sign to the soldiers, every man to do whatsoever he was bidden; of whom some ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streets and houses of the city, plucking all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abominable filthiness, than they had done at Constantinople before, saving only that they abstained from murder: but the same day letters came from Mahomet to the ambassador, that he would spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the city: which message, because it seemed to the ambassador to be too cruel, forasmuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little, until night came. In the mean time, drunken Mahomet, coming something to himself (whom drunkenness had before overcome), sent his second letters to revoke the first. Where again is to be noted the merciful providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury, many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

Mahomet thus, being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperial seat of the Turkish dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more masteries, set out to the siege of Belgrade, a city of Hungary, lying near to the banks of the Danube, thinking to have the like success there, as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit, through the Lord's disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the city of Belgrade, the same time of the siege thereof, was Johannes Huniades, the valiant captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of picked soldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turks' army, valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no less success. In this siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slain; among whom also Mahomet himself, being stricken with a pellet under the left arm, was fain to be carried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number, of forty thousand, besides the loss of all their ordnance, which the Turks, in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Hieronymus Zieglerus, writing of the siege of this Belgrade, addeth moreover, that when Mahomet was at the siege thereof, seeing the town to be so small and weak of itself, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he, staring and faring like a madman, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the walls and towers of the town; so that the Christians within the walls were vehemently distressed, for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians who defended the town, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certain Bohemian, much worthy of his condign commendation; who, being upon the walls, and seeing a Turk with a banner or ensign of the Turks to be gotten up, by the sight whereof the whole town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the Turk, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus, standing below, asked him, whether it were any danger of damnation to

him, if he, of his voluntary mind, did cast himself with that dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the wall to be slain with him : what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved, or not ? To whom when the other had answered, that he should be saved without doubt, he eftsoons tumbleth himself with the Turk down off the wall ; where, by his death, he saved the same time the life of all the city. Mahomet, being so wounded, and in despair of winning the city, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field, who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear, and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the town of Belgrade at that time rescued, through God's providence, by the means of Johannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

Mahomet II.

Belgrade valiantly defended from the Turk.

This siege of Belgrade began A.D. 1456, and endured six-and-forty days, at which siege were numbered of the Turks two hundred thousand, of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain ; where the victory fell to the Christians, through the prosperous success given of God to Johannes Huniades, and Capistranus. This Huniades, not long after the said victory, through the importune labour and travail in defending of the said town, was taken with a sore sickness, and thereof departed ; to whose valiant prowess and singular courage, stories do give great laud and commendation.

See Appendix.

Decease of Johannes Huniades.

Mahomet the Turk, after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to war with Usumcassan a Persian, one of the Turks' stock, with whom he had three battles. The first was about the river Euphrates, where the Turk lost ten thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field, likewise, he was discomfited. The third battle was at Arsenga, where, through the terrible noise of the brazen peeeces, the Persian horses disturbed the camp, and so was Usumcassan overcome.

The Turks war against Usumcassan.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him Sinope and all Paphlagonia : also the kingdom of Trebisonde, which he, besieging both by land and water, won from the Christians, and sent David the king of the same, with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, unto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the Comneni, who were of the king's stock, by the Turk were destroyed. This was about A.D. 1461, at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

The Turk again returneth against the Christians.

Not long after, he got, from the Greeks, Corinth and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of christian men ; insomuch that the whole city of Mitylene was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The isles also of Lemnos and Lesbos he won from the Venetians ; in which island of Lesbos is the city of Mitylene aforesaid.

Conquests of the Turk.

Not far from this isle of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a country in Asia, toward the sea-side bordering next to Europe, called Mysia, or of some called Mœsia, wherein stood the city of Troy. This country Mahomet, coveting to win rather by policy and falsehood, than by doubtful danger of war, secretly sent for the prince thereof, to come to speak with him for certain causes (as he pretended), that would concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the king of Mysia either for shame would not, or for fear durst not deny, he came to him, as if to confer upon necessary affairs in

Falsehood of the Turk against the prince of Mysia. Also his cruelty.

Mahomet II. common to them appertaining. Mahomet, when he had brought that to pass which he would, caused the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces: and so, invading the land of Mysia, he exercised the like tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

The siege of Chaleis in Eubœa. This Mysia by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet flieth again towards Europe, where he assailed the island of Eubœa, otherwise called Negroponte, making a bridge of a marvellous frame over the sea Euripus, to convey over his army out of Greece, and there laid his siege to the city Chaleis, which, at length, in thirty days he overcame, not without a great slaughter of his army; who, in the siege thereof, is said to have lost forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater; for when the city was won, the tyrant commanded, most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, whosoever was above the age of twenty years.¹ This cruelty was showed by the barbarous tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to be forty thousand.

Cruel tyranny of the Turk against Chaleis. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable what is in stories recorded, how that the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to lie in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the men, went to the walls, and there defended the city with no less trouble to the enemy, than the men had before done; and so for a space continued, as long as any man's strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this city and island, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians' navy; who, being there present, and having prosperous wind, yet durst not, or would not adventure upon the Turks' bridge, which if they had done, the island of Eubœa, and Chaleis, had not so soon been overmatched by the Turks.

Noble stratagem of women, in defending that city. Thus all the east parts of Greece being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Eubœa, shortly after followed also Peloponnesus, brought into like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were these provinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Arcadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponnesus had great possessions, and had made up the wall again towards the sea-side, near to the straits of Corinth before-mentioned, where, for the more speed of the work, they had thirty thousand workmen to the building thereof: which when it came to the knowledge of the Turk, he burst into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of eighty thousand, and first wasted the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time brought the whole dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribute.

Christian provinces in Greece subdued by the Turk. Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahomet, gotten against the Christians both by land and sea; who, after he had overcome the isle of Lesbos, above mentioned, and had cruelly slain Nicholas Catalusius the prince thereof, turning his army towards the sea Pontus Euxinus, got the country of Capha from the Genoese. Before was declared how truce was taken between Georgius Scander-Beg and the Turk, for ten years; which truce

See Appendix.
Capha taken by the Turk.

[1] Ex Johanne Rame de rebus Turcicis

being expired, Mahomet leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his power to Epirus and Albania, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued; in the which tract also he wan from the Venetians Scodra, Alessio, and Drinastro. Notwithstanding, when Scander-Beg, the valiant captain, had done against the Turk what in man's strength did lie, yet, being overmatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile, and went to Italy; and there, being sent for by the pope's letters, he openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one king or prince, unless all Europe, with one consent, should join their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scander-Beg, a man of puissant courage, being driven out of his country, continued his age in exile; whose courage and vehemeny are reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous enemy, for very eagerness of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, nor in his fighting ever turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded, but only once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turk with more than six thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen; who is said, with his own hand to have slain above 2,000 Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Mahomet II.

The counsel of Scander-Beg, to fight against the Turk.
Ser Appendix.

A notable example of singular courage.

Neither yet was the insatiable greediness of that Turkish hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole world; and so, passing forward towards Europe, he subdued all Illyria, slaying Stephen, the king of Bosnia, about A.D. 1475. But afterwards Matthias Corvinus, the son of Huniades aforementioned, recovered again the said kingdom of Bosnia, with many other cities near unto Croatia and Dalmatia, and moreover repulsed Mahomet the Turk, in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and munitions left behind him.

Moreover, the said Mahomet, passing unto Wallachia, set upon Dracula, the prince thereof; which Dracula, although he had no greater power of soldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part, notwithstanding, was destroyed, and many of his ensigns taken. Into Dalmatia were sent two captains of the Turk, who, fighting against the provinces of the Venetians, made great spoil and waste about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia; where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Novel, their captain, slain. At length truce was taken between the Turk and the Venetians upon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus, and Lemnos should be yielded unto him, and that they should pay to him yearly, eight thousand ducats, for the free passage of their merchants.

Stiria and Carinthia taken by the Turk.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahomet himself saileth over into Asia, sending two of his great captains abroad to sundry places; of whom, Mesithes was sent against Rhodes with a mighty navy: the other, called Achmet Pasha, was sent into Italy to take Rome, and all the west empire. Concerning the viage of which two captains, this was the event, that Masithes, after his great

Rhodes besieged.

*Mahomet
and
Bajazet
II.*

Con-
quests of
the Turk.

The pope
fleeth in
fear of
the Turk.

*See
Appendix.*

travail, and bloody siege against the Rhodians, was fain to retire at length, with great shame and loss. The other captain, Achmet (as is said), was sent into Italy with a navy of a hundred ships, and fifteen thousand men, who, by the way in his sailing, got Leucadia (which now they call St. Maure), Cephalonia, and Zacynthus, and, sailing by Favelona, arrived in Apulia; and so, passing along by the sea-side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Otranto, a city of Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all Italy, that the pope, forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the city of Otranto was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was A.D. 1480, Matthias Corvinus, Huniades' son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said city; unto the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news came, that Mahomet, the great Turk, was dead; by reason whereof, the siege brake up, and the city was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present peril and danger. This Mahomet won from the Christians two hundred cities, and twelve kingdoms, and two empires,¹ which he joined both together. He died in the year following, A.D. 1481.

BAJAZET THE SECOND, THE TENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Mahomet aforesaid had three sons; of whom Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal lust, died before his father. The other two were Bajazet and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus; about whom great controversy arose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their father's kingdom: for neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahomet died; Bajazet being in Cappadocia, and Demes, in Lycaonia. Wherefore, when great dissension was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, who were the Turk's guard, did proclaim Bajazet emperor: others, in the absence of Bajazet the father, did choose Korchud his son. Bajazet the father, coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with money, got the wills of the Janizaries, and was made emperor. Demes, the other brother, being in Lycaonia, more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented by Bajazet, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he, being put back from all hope of his kingdom, incited by some of his friends, moved war against his brother; who, being overcome in three battles by Achmet, Bajazet's captain, who had got Otranto before, did fly to the great master of the Rhodes, leaving in a place called Carrae his mother and two young children, whom Bajazet slew.

Bajazet
sleweth
his mo-
ther and
the two
sons of
his bro-
ther
Demes.

This Demes, being with the master of the Rhodes, was desired first of pope Innocent VIII., then of Charles VIII., the French king, but especially of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victory against Bajazet. But, in conclusion, the knights of the Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where he being kept,

(1) These two empires were Constantinople and Trapezunde.

and afterwards sent to Charles VIII., the French king, for a hostage of pope Alexander VI., was poisoned by the way of Terracina by the said pope Alexander, as is before declared. After his death, Bajazet, to requite the aforesaid Achmet for his good service, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre-sake to have his treasure : whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forasmuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Bajazet II.

False treason worthily recompensed

Bajazet, thus being confirmed in his tyranny, made his first expedition against Bessarabia, where he subdued two great forts, one called Kilia, the other called Akerman. From thence he removed his power, taking his viage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the sultan of Egypt, who had succoured and entertained before his brother Demes against him : where he lost two great battles, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus ; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the army of the Turk took such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazet (whether for fear, or for subtlety,) abstained to provoke them with war, but rather entreated with them the league of peace ; requiring the master of the Rhodes to keep his brother safe under his custody, promising, for his yearly salary, to be paid unto him every year in the month of August, 45,000 ducats.

Christian forts subdued by the Turk.

The Turk overthrown at Tarsus.

Thus Bajazet, being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Durazzo near unto Valona, and had a great victory over the christian army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians, and Croatians, joining their powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about A. D. 1499.

Durazzo taken by the Turk.

From thence the Turk, leading his army against the Venetians, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the Turk, sometimes put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailing, out of Jadra and divers other cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity ; which was about A. D. 1504.

The Turk goes against the Venetians.

Two years after this (A. D. 1506), Bajazet, with 150,000 armed men, entered into Peloponnesus ; which although Mahomet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. This Methone the Turk besieged with three armies, having about the walls five hundred great brazen cannons, whereof twenty-two were most violent and hurtful ; wherewith he battered the city both day and night. But the citizens who were within the city, committing themselves to God, defended their city as well as they could, rather choosing to die, than to yield to the Turk's tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain house prepared for the purpose, both men, women, and children ; where they, setting the house on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the tyrant's hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish captivity. Some writers there be, who affirm that the Methoneans, seeing five great ships of

Peloponnesus again invaded by the Turk.

Methone taken by the Turks and destroyed.

Bajazet
II.

Con-
quests of
the Turk.

Islands
recovered
of the
Turk by
the Vene-
tians.

Truce
between
them.

War be-
tween the
Shâh and
Bajazet.

The
Turk's
captain
slain.

the Venetians coming with men and victuals toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea-side, to receive them, who were all taken captives, being above the number of a thousand: who all, being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain nobles, whom Cherseogles, son-in-law to Bajazet, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The city of Coron, and also Pylus, cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the power of the Turks. Crissæum, otherwise called cape Gallo, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

These things thus achieved, although Bajazet went away victor unto Constantinople, yet, notwithstanding, the Venetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk, Cephalonia, an island very commodious for their traffic. Also they had gotten other two islands, Leucas and Neritus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turks. But afterwards, peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the counsel of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Neritus, the islands abovesaid, should be rendered unto the Turk, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Cephalonia.

Unto this league the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain war in Asia against Ismael, Shâh or king of Persia; which Ismael was stirred up by God's providence to war with this Bajazet, whereby the christian churches in Europe might have some breathing-time, and freedom from the Turks' cruel tyranny and bloodshed. This Ismael was a valiant Turk, who, with great power and victories, had overrun a great compass of the east parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made war against the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, and from thence coming unto Asia Minor encountered with Korkûd, Bajazet's son, and afterward coming to Bithynia fought with Caragius Pasha, Bajazet's captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his wife, prisoners. Afterward he was encountered by Hali Pasha, another captain of the Turks, whom Techelies, one of the said Ismael's captains meeting in the plain of Galatia did withstand, and so by the way slew Caragius the captain, and hanged him upon a pole in the sight of Hali Pasha; which Hali Pasha shortly after was slain in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

Thus, through the admirable example of God's justice and providence, were these Turks kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby, in the mean time, some rest was given to the Christians.

Bajazet, partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unwieldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdom, began to have talk with his nobles about the choosing of one to succeed him. The occasion whereof ministered much matter of inward wars amongst the Turks. This Bajazet had in all six sons, whereof three died

before him, and three yet were left alive: to wit, Achmet, Kor. *Bajazet*
 kûd, and Selim. Bajazet himself had most mind to Achmet, *II.*
 but the chiefest of his nobles did favour rather Selim; who, through
 their traitorous incitation, provoked him to stir war against his father:
 and, notwithstanding that he was overcome in war, yet, through inter-
 cession, he was reconciled again to his father, and afterward pro-
 claimed again emperor against his father's will, through the help and
 favour of the soldiers, entering the first beginning of his kingdom
 with the murdering of his own father: the story whereof in some
 authors is thus declared.

Selim
made
emperor
against
his
father's
will.

After the Janizaries had persuaded with Bajazet, for that he him-
 self was unwieldy, therefore he should do well to constitute some
 successor, and that he had assigned Achmet to succeed him, the
 Janizaries being offended with the said Achmet, because he would
 not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the
 king's palace with their privy swords, which they had under their
 garments, with a mighty cry required Selim to be appointed for their
 emperor. Unto whom when Bajazet had answered, that he had
 assigned Achmet, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and
 unable thereunto; but needs would have Selim, who was stout and
 warlike, to be made emperor: and withal, they drew out their swords,
 crying 'Selim,' 'Selim.' Then Bajazet, giving place to their
 fury, showed himself content to give them Selim; whom the Jani-
 zaries receiving, brought him unto the palace: unto whom Bajazet
 his father, giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in
 his doings, but to be modest, and take heed what he did, and not to
 follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things,
 and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as
 other men are. And thus speaking, he resigned his imperial throne
 and seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entering into a certain
 order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of
 the people, saluting Selim as emperor: who then, taking the rule
 upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his
 nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by
 other cruel means; and advancing his own side, with great honours
 and promotions.

Counsel
of Bajazet
to his son.

Not long after Selim was thus settled in his kingdom, Bajazet his
 father, intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his
 government, first entered into his treasure-house, where he found all
 his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterwards he came into his
 armoury, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted.
 Then he entered into the jewel-house, where all his plate and gifts
 sent from kings and princes were kept; which likewise were dispersed
 and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also he,
 seeing his principal horses to be lacking, sighing with himself, and
 crying, 'Vengeance upon him!' prepared himself, with the residue of
 the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into Natolia, unto his
 eldest son; and passing by an orchard near to the sea-side, where he
 had appointed to take ship, in the mean time, whilst the ships were
 in furnishing, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his son,
 and to ask vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his father,
 and was become so impious a wretch.

Displea-
sure of
Bajazet
against
him.

*Bajazet
II.
and
Selim.*

Dissem-
bling
words of
Selim to
his father.

Selim, the
son, poi-
soneth his
father.

Selim, understanding of his father's departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the government of the empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. "O father," said he, "do not thus privily depart away: do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the emperor indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue." And thus, using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet, with many dainty junkets, to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poison: which as soon as Bajazet had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son, and going out of the city, accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey fell down, and miserably died, A.D. 1512. Here mayest thou see, good reader! a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the son, and the son reigneth by poisoning his father.

SELIM, THE ELEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Selim, the
eleventh
after
Ottoman.

Selim
strangles
his bro-
ther and
nephews.

After this wretched Selim had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he seeketh the destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murder with the five children his nephews, who were the sons of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet alive, Achmet and Korkûd, with their children, likewise to be destroyed; of whom the one had three sons, whom their father sent to Selim his brother and their uncle, with fair and gentle words to entreat him to be good unto their father, offering to him their duty and service in all things, honouring him also as emperor. But cruel Selim commanded forthwith his said nephews to be strangled. The father, hearing of the cruel murder of his sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but, being bewrayed by one of his men, he was brought to Selim, and so was strangled.

Selim
warreth
against
his bro-
ther
Achmet.

Christopher Richer, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith that Selim, after the death of his brother Korkûd, came to Bursa, where, under the colour of making a great triumph, he ordained a feast for his friends and kinstolk, whereunto were called especially his nephews; who, then, at the end of the feast, calling his nephews aside (as under the pretence of conferring with him secretly about his necessary affairs), committed them to his servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while Achmet, his other brother, through the help and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrant's hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that Achmet, to revenge the great impiety and subdue the tyranny of Selim his brother, should show himself abroad: which if he would do, he should find friends enough to take his part. Achmet, circumvented with these subtle

trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for desire of the empire, showed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had : who, being set upon incontinent by Selim his brother, was overcome in battle, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and gross, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

Selim.

Touching the death of this Achmet, Munsterus, somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreover, and saith, that he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but that sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, he desired the captain, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliver the same to his brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to die. But Selim, being not ignorant of this, suborneth privy tormentors, who, binding his hands behind him, with their feet cast him down upon the ground, and so, twisting his neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Achmet had two sons, who, hearing of the death of their father, did fly for succour, the one to the Shâh in Persia, and the other to the sultan in Egypt.

The cruelty of Selim against his brother Achmet.

By means hereof, new occasion of war grew unto Selim, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians : so that, through the Lord's providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the Turk's tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance, to invade the Christians ; being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Panmonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within itself : but this cause occupied the Turk's mind otherwise, and kept him at home ; such was then the providence of the Lord, for the safeguard of his people.

The providence of God, in stirring up occasions for his people.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and Heathenish countries, it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietness was amongst them there, who could never be quiet, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurath, the Turk's nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aid of the Shâh or king of the Persians, first invaded Cappadocia ; not long after whom followed Ismael himself, the Persian Shâh, by reason whereof a great battle was fought betwixt the Persians and Selim, in the fields of Armenia Major. In that battle, Ismael, the Shâh or Persian king, was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet ; and so, being carried out of the field, left the victory to Selim, who, albeit he had an army of 150,000 men, yet he in the same field lost about 30,000 of his Turks : which field was fought A.D. 1514. Selim, after this victory, went to Tauris, the imperial city of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued.

War between Selim and the Shâh or Persian king.

In this mean time it happened that one Alaidulet, a king of Armenia the greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk ; whereupon Selim the Turk, taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Alaidulet, and in the end overcame him ; and afterwards, being found in a cave in a wood, he was taken out and brought to Selim, and so beheaded : whose

War between Selim and Alaidulet.

Selim. head, being first carried about Asia for a triumph, was afterwards sent to the senate of Venice for a terror unto them. The eldest son of Alaidulet, scaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battle thus fought and ended, Selim, after he had divided the kingdom of Alaidulet into three provinces, went to Lycaonia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the city of Semendria against the Christians in Hungary: but the Hungarians being soon repressed by Yonus Pâsha the Turk's captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks, against the confines of Servia bordering upon Hungary, the terror whereof stirred up Maximilian the emperor, and Ladislaus king of Hungary, and Sigismund king of Poland, to consult together, and conjoin their power for defence of Christendom. But, through new incumbrances incident, the Turk, leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to give over that war before Ismael was overthrown.

Preparation of war between Selim and the Christians.

The Turk called away.

A Turkish vow.

But before he entered that war, first he sent his messengers to the sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that war: for this sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the sultan who reigned then in Egypt, was Kansu, set up by the Mamalukes. These Mamalukes were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like the Janizaries about the Turk, who, being the children of christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the sultan's court, and, being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Kansu unto the messengers of the Turk gave this answer again, that unless he would leave off this war against Ismael, and restore the son of Alaidulet, otherwise he would not lay down his armour.

Kansu the sultan or ruler of the Egyptians.

Selim being incensed not a little with this insolent answer of the sultan, leaving all other wars aside, with great celerity advanced his power against the sultan; which sultan, partly through the falsehood of his captain Khair Bey, partly by the suddenness of the Turk's coming, not far from the city of Damascus encountered with the Turk; and there, overthrown from his horse, being a fat and gross body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, A. D. 1516.

Khair Bey false to his master.

The sultan slain.

The Mamalukes, of whom more than a thousand in this battle were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Tumân Bey instead of Kansu; whose captain Gâzeli Bey was overcome at the city of Gaza, and he afterward himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamalukes were destroyed. Then Tumân Bey, flying over the flood Nile, renewed his army again; but, in the end, was discomfited and chased into a marsh, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin; and so, being brought to Selim, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where Kansu's treasures were. But, when he would not declare, he was carried about the town with a halter round his neck, and hanged up upon a high gibbet, for a spectacle to all Egypt; which was A. D. 1517. And thus were the two sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Mamalukes, who there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of two hundred and forty-three years; the progeny of which Mamalukes remaining of the

Tumân Bey made sultan of Egypt.

He is executed.

wars, the Turk commanded, in the prison-gates of Alexandria, to be cut in pieces. Selim from thence triumphing departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died, after he had reigned seven years like a beast, A. D. 1520.

Selim, and Solyman

The death of Selim.

The reign of this Turk was but short in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, who lived more like a beast than a man; for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poisoned, his brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of all his kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal captains for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang his son-in-law, and Yonus Pasha.

Cruelty of Selim against his kindred.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own son Solyman, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanour of his father: but, by the means of his mother, the gift being suspected was given to another, who was his chamberlain, who, putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poison thereof, and therewithal died.

As touching this Turk Selim, by the way here may be noted, how the secret providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at home, while the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe, at the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this Selim, Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences, which was A. D. 1516.

A note of God's providence for the reformation of religion.

SOLYMAN, THE TWELFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

Solyman, the only son of Selim, succeeded after his father's death, who, in the first beginning, seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the Turkish government: wherefore certain of his nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another emperor; in which conspiracy especially are named Khair Bey and Gâzeli Bey. This Khair Bey was he that betrayed before Kansu the sultan of Egypt to Selim, as is aforesaid; who now also, being in consultation with Gâzeli and other about this matter, detected them also unto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gâzeli and his fellows, being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman: declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be; and as also by his acts afterward did more appear.

Solyman, the twelfth after Ottoman.

Solyman, after this execution done upon the conspirators, taking his viage into Europe, first besieged Belgrade, which, being a city in Hungary, was the strongest fort of all the Roman empire, and the chief defence at that time of all Christendom; which also, assaulted before time by Mahomet II., was valiantly defended by Johannes Huniades, as is above specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was: for the kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of Ludovic, a young king, inexpert and of a simple wit; whom other princes, and especially the covetous churchmen, did

Belgrade again besieged by the Turk.

See Appendix

Solyman. so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom ; whereby he, being unfurnished both of men and money, was unable to match with such an enemy.

Discord
amongst
Christian
princes,
what mis-
chief it
bringeth.

Another advantage also the Turks had in besieging Belgrade, for the Christian princes, at that time, were in civil dissension and variance amongst themselves ; and the pope with his churchmen also were so busy in suppressing Luther, and the gospel then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own bellies ; which pope, if he had set his care (as his duty was) as much in stirring up princes against the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the gospel, and to persecute the true professors thereof, soon might he have brought to pass, not only that Belgrade might have been defended against the Turk, but also that to be recovered again, which was lost before ; and, moreover, he might have stopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the religion and church of Christ ; which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

The pope
so busy
against
Luther,
that he
neglect-
eth the
ruin of
Christen-
dom.

Certes, whatsoever the pope then did, this had been his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captives, who were fallen from their faith and religion, unto the misery and slavery of the Turk, and thralldom of the devil, and to have sought all means possible to have reduced them, as lost sheep, into the fold again ; which then might soon have been done, if prelates and princes, joining together in christian concord, had loved as well the public glory of Christ, and souls of Christians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And admit that the pope had conceived ever so much malice against Luther, his quarrel also being good ; yet the public church, standing in such danger as it then did, by the invasion of the Turk, reason would, nature led, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himself, and the universal church of Christ. But now, his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of Luther being most just and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a prelate, who, forbearing the Turk, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resisted, persecuted the truth which he should specially have maintained ? But Christ, of his mercy, stand for his church, and stir up zealous princes and prelates, if not to recover that which is lost, yet at least to retain that little which is left !

True
compas-
sion lack-
ing in the
pope.

The city
of Bel-
grade
won by
the Turk.

Solyman therefore, taking this occasion, and using the commodity of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any resistance or interruption brought his army unto Belgrade, A.D. 1521 ; which city being but slenderly defended, the Turk, through his underminers, guns, and other engines of war, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his soldiers, soon subdued and overcame.

After this victory, Solyman resting himself a whole year, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, for fear of enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpose, if he might obtain the island of Rhodes ; for that only remained yet christian, betwixt him and Asia. Wherefore, the next year

following, he brought his navy of four hundred and fifty ships, with three hundred thousand men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong island, within the Mediterranean sea; the inhabitants whereof, at the first, did manfully resist the Turk, sparing no labour, nor pains for the defence of themselves and all Christendom. But afterwards, being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, seeing also no aid to come from the Christians, they somewhat began to languish in themselves. The Turks, in the mean time, casting up two great mountains, with strength of hand, two miles off from the city, like rolling trenches carried them before them near unto the city, in the tops whereof they planted their ordnance and artillery, to batter the city. The master of the knights of Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking, that appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians, likewise, so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls, that with their shot all the ditches about the city were filled with the carcases of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloody flux reigned in the Turks' camp, that thirty thousand of them died thereof; and yet for all this Solymans would not cease from his siege begun: who, at length, by underminers casting down the vauures and uttermost parts of the city, won ground still more and more upon the Rhodians, and with mortar-pieces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the city. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the Christians. Wherefore they, being out of all hope, through the advice of Villadamus, yielded themselves unto the Turk, upon condition that he would spare them with life and goods: which convention the Turk kept with them faithfully and truly.

Solyman.
Rhodes
besieged.

*See
Appendix.*

Thus Solymans, with his great glory, and utter shame to all christian princes, and also ruin of all Christendom, got the noble isle of Rhodes; although not without great loss and detriment of his army, insomuch that at one assault twenty thousand Turks about the walls were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines: whereby it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might, or would have done, if succour had come to them from other christian princes, as they looked for. This city was won upon Christmas-day, A.D. 1522.

Christian
princes
negligent
in help-
ing their
fellows.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solymans, the fourth year after, bringeth back his army again into Hungary, where he found none to resist him but only Louis the young king; who, being accompanied with a small army, and nothing able to match with the Turk, yet, of a hasty rashness and vain hope of victory, would needs set upon him: who, if he had staid but a little, had prospered the better, for John, Vaivode of Transylvania, being a captain well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient power of able soldiers. But Paul, the archbishop of Colosse, a Franciscan friar, a man more bold than wise, with his temerity and rashness troubled all their doings; for the whole sum of the army of the Hungarians contained in all but only four and twenty thousand horsemen and footmen, who, at length coming unto the battle, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turk's army, were brought into great distress. The Turks twice shot off their pieces against the christian

Christian
wars
against
the Turk
never
sued well
under the
guiding
of perish-
ing prelates.

Solyman.

Chris-
tians
were the
special
gunners
to the
Turk.

The rash
arch-
bishop
friar
slain.

King Lu-
dovic pe-
risheth.

army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought to be done on purpose, because they were Christians who had the ordering of the guns (for then the special gunners of the Turks were Christians), whom for the same cause they spared. Then the 'Turks' horsemen, coming upon the back of the christian army, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their horsemen; amongst whom was slain, at the same time, the archbishop friar abovesaid, with the bishops of Gran and Waradein, and many other nobles beside. Also the king himself, being destitute of his necessary aid and succour, was compelled to fly into a marsh, where he, falling from his horse, being heavy laden with his harness, was not able to rise again, but there miserably perished.

Solyman the Turk marvelled at the foolishness of Louis the king, who, with so small an army, would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battle in Hungary was fought A.D. 1526.

Ferdin-
and of
Hungary.

After the decease of Louis, Ferdinand succeeded in the kingdom, being duke of Austria and king of Hungary. Then Solyman, setting contention betwixt John, Vaivode of Transylvania, and Ferdinand for the kingdom of Hungary, sped his viage to the city of Buda, which also, in short time, he made to be yielded unto him upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods: which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda, divers places and munitions the said Turk, contrary to his league made before, did spoil and waste; as Waradein, Fünfkirchen, and other forts and munitions more, bordering about the coasts of Hungary.

Con-
quests of
the Turk.

Conten-
tion be-
tween
Ferdin-
and and
John the
Vaivode.

The
Vaivode
flieth
to the
Turks.

Horrible
examples
of the
Turk's
cruelty

†

In the year of our Lord, 1529, Ferdinand, king of Hungary aforesaid, recovered divers holds gotten of the Turk before, and also warring against John the Vaivode, his enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before), expulsed him out of his kingdom; whereupon John, flying to the Turk, desired his aid. The Turk, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into Hungary, where he, recovering again the city of Buda, which Ferdinand had gotten from him a little before, removed his army into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands; showing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to hear and understand. For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their ears and noses; and their children he shamefully mutilated. The maidens he corrupted, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ripped, and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched Turk perpetrated by the way coming toward Vienna, a noble city in Austria; besides the captives which he took by the way and led into servitude most miserable, amounting to the number of thirty thousand.

Among other holds by the way the Turk came, there was a castle called Altenburg, strongly by nature situated, and by art defended; which castle the Turk, intending not to overpass, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay

his ordnance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soon as the Turk began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardliness sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield themselves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual; amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turk by them might learn what strength was in the city of Vienna; also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Solyman.

Castle of
Alten-
burch
yielded to
the Turk.

Of whom when the Turk had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in Vienna able to bear armour, and that other cities of Austria would soon yield if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two months, and that the king was of late in Bohemia; thus, the Turk of all things being certified, having no doubt in his mind of victory, made speed toward Vienna; and first coming to Neustad, a city but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves; who, notwithstanding, withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turks assigned a place for the pitching of their tents, which, because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground, to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. The Turks thus being planted, made daily excursions over all the country of Austria, especially about the city of Vienna, wasting and spoiling, with great cruelty and murder, amongst the poor Christians.

Neustad
besieged
by the
Turk
The
Turk's
army of
two hun-
dred and
fifty thou-
sand sol-
diers.
Prepara-
tions for
the siege
of Vienna
by the
Turk.

Moreover, to make all things more sure towards the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad, and ambushments were laid about the side of the river Danube, to provide that no aid nor victual should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the providence of the Lord (who disposeth all things), that three days before the coming of the Turk, Frederic the earl Palatine, who was then assigned by the empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come down by the river Danube with 14,000 men, and with a certain troop of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this Frederic, provision also of victual was appointed to follow shortly after by the said river Danube.

Frede-
ric, earl
Palatine,
captain in
Vienna.

In the mean time, they who had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the passages ten miles about Vienna stopped by the Turks, although they knew the city to stand in great need of victual, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather than it should come to the enemy's hand, thought it best to sink their boats with their carriage; and so they did: whereby albeit the Christians wanted their relief, yet were the Turks disappointed of their prey and purpose. The captains who had the keeping of the city, who were chiefly Frederic the earl Palatine, William Rogendorff, and Nicholas earl of Salm, seeing themselves so straitened contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken: and seeing that the little city Neustad, above mentioned, being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seven grievous assaults against all the main force of the Turkish

Captains
who had
the keep-
ing of
Vienna.

Solyman. army; by their example and manful standing being the more animated and encouraged, they thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and first, plucking down all the suburbs and buildings without the walls, whereby the enemy might have any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the city to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the walls. Such places as were weak within the walls, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walls they provided rampiers and bulwarks, distant eighty foot one from another, to keep off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed what to do. But especially that side of the city which lieth to the river Danube, they fortified after the best wise: for that way only now remained for victual to be transported from the Bohemians unto them. Wherefore eight ensigns were assigned to the keeping of the bridge; and in the plain, which was like an island enclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within gunshot of the city; to the intent that if any grain or victual were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the city.

Preparation
with-
in the
city
against
the Turk.

Provision
made for
victual-
ling the
city.

Good
counsel
and ex-
perience
refused.

Wretched
cruelty of
the Turks
against
the Chris-
tian cap-
tives.

Message
of the
Turk to
the Vien-
nians.

Answer
of the Vi-
ennians.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, lord William Rogendorff, to assay the strength of the Turks, made divers roads out with his horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the Austrians; who, knowing the manner of the Turks, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be overwearied, or for lack of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turks, one especially was to our men unprosperous; in which certain of the horsemen, espying a small troop of the Turks scattering abroad from their company, made out after them; who suddenly and guilefully were enclosed and circumvented by the Turks, before they could recover the gates of the city, and so were all taken alive: of them three were sent by the Turks into the city, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seen in the camp of their adversaries, and to solicit them to yield their city for fear of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserved to torments and punishment, whom, in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians (who should tell the same to the citizens), they caused, every man, with four horses, to be drawn to pieces, and so to be dismembered and plucked asunder.

After this done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his herald to talk with the captains of the city, whether they would yield the city upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them showed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he would spare neither man, woman, nor child. To this the captains answered again, That they were contented that Solyman should stand to his siege begun, and do his utmost, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their city as long as they might: that the event and fall of victory was doubtful, and many times so happeneth, that they who begin the war are wearied, sooner than they who be provoked: neither that they were so unmindful either of themselves, or of their

country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called; named to be Germans, who use always first to assay the adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their enemies' hands.

Solyman, not a little disdaining at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houses, and places round about the city; infecting also the springs and fountains which gave water into the city; and so stopping all passages, that no relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the city, with three great camps, sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his captives, That if they stood in need of help of soldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred Bohemians (mentioned a little before), to aid them in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, That they had more soldiers in the city than they needed. As for the Bohemians who had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

In the mean time a messenger coming from Ferdinand was privily let in by night into the city, who brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the enemy awhile: for it would not be long, but both Ferdinand and Charles, his brother, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At this message the hearts of the soldiers began somewhat to be cheered, and to contemn the huge multitude of the adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before; the largeness of whose army extended to no less in compass (as is abovesaid) than of seven miles round about the city walls.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this history, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the Turks, the absence of king Ferdinand, the lack of provision and victual within the city, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the sight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that city was no man's doing, but the arm only of the Lord God of Hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalm, "Unless the Lord do keep the city, the watchmen watch in vain, which watch to save it: unless the Lord do build the house, the builder striveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it;" experience whereof, in keeping this city, may well appear.

First Solyman, bending his shot and ordnance against the city, beat down to the ground the vaumures, with all the uttermost suburbs of the city; and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, lest the Turk, with the same celerity and violence, would have prevailed against the inward walls, as he did in beating down the outward vaumures. And no doubt the same time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night, coming on, broken off the siege for that day.

In the mean time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault.

Solyman

Solyman approacheth Vienna with three great armies.

A messenger sent from Ferdinand to Vienna.

The siege of Vienna beginneth.

The Lord's power and providence in keeping the city.

Solyman. The next day, early in the morning, the Turks, approaching the city again with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germans, that scarcely any ditches about the walls could be seen, for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherewith they were replenished; so that the Turks were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them that were slain: by which calamity, the force of the enemy was not a little abated.

Manliness of Rogendorff against the Turks. It happened the same time, that a company of the Turks being spied out of the city wandering out of order, the captain Rogendorff, with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the city gate called Salmaria, and so passing closely under the hill's side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them, the rest being driven to take the river; whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the city again. By this victory the captain Rogendorff began to be terrible to the Turks: for in the same skirmish, as after was known, were slain of them so many, that of five thousand three hundred horsemen and footmen, scarce one hundred and forty escaped alive.

Another assault of the Turks against Vienna. Solyman, disdaining at this repulse, thought to prove another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the King's Gate, there making his trenches and bulwarks, planted his ordnance; with the violence whereof the walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turk, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiers covertly, in the dark smoke of the gunpowder, to press into the city. The like also was done at the Scottish tower, whereby the city was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The Viennians, at first, freshly began to withstand them, new soldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint not only in strength, but also in courage, whereby the city had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid captains, Rogendorff in the one place, and the earl of Salm in the other place, manfully encouraged the soldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out awhile the violence of the Turks; promising that immediately they should have aid from Ferdinand.

Another repulse of the Turks. In the mean time the Turks came so thick, for greediness of the victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the walls, that had it not been for the press and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But, by the policy of the captains giving a sign within the city, as though new soldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks' hearts to be discomfited.

Vienna undermined. When Solyman saw his army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing, by undermining, to overthrow the city; in which work specially he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his camp, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians, beginning to break the earth at the Carinthian gate, and coming near to the foundations of the tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, who were

skilful and expert in that kind of matter; who, contrariwise, undermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleave asunder, and all the underminers of the Turks, working in their trenches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterwards) of eight thousand persons; insomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead men's skulls are found in the ground.

When Solymán saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy intelligence that the walls about the Stuben gate were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easy entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten garrisons of fresh soldiers, in such sort as the townsmen should not perceive them; who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses and munitions, before our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For, although there was no lack of soldiers within the city, yet, forasmuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie especially at the two gates aforesaid, from whence the soldiers who were there warding, could not be well removed; for a shift, the rescuers (who within the city were ready for all sudden adventures) were sent to the walls; by whose coming, those few who kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to surgery; and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtful, until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turks to be slain more than five thousand.

Another
assault
of the
Turks.

Then the captain Rogendorff, commending the valiant standing of his soldiers, misdoubting with himself (as it happened indeed) that the Turks would not so give over, but would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the Turks, thinking to prevent our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the walls.

See
Appendix.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the city, those three days following, was in; during all which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enemies, fighting against the city, or in our men in defending the same. For the Turks, besides the multitude of the great ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of gun-shot) they never ceased still battering the walls, and beating the munitions of the city, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turks to the scaling and climbing of the walls, that scarcely with all the ordnance and shot of the city, either their violence could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at last, the soldiers of the Turks, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their dukes and captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the city was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor goodwill lacking: and so ceased the siege for that time.

The
Turks at
variance
among
them-
selves.

Solyman. After this, when Solyman had purposed in himself, with his last and strongest siege, to try against the city the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his soldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto, the soldiers showed themselves much unwilling to return again, from whence they were so often repulsed before; by reason whereof great commotion began to arise in the Turk's camp. The rumour whereof when it came to Solyman's ears, he sendeth his grand captain to keep all the soldiers in order and obedience; or, if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment: who, coming to the soldiers, showed to them the great Turk's message; and, to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now, without great shame, give over, after so many assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the victory were in their own hands. The townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and the more to enflame their minds, he promised them not only great thanks and reward of their emperor, but also the whole spoil of the city, in recompense of their travail.

But when all this could not stir up the sturdy stomachs of the tired Turks, using compulsion where persuasion would not serve, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs, whereby to enforce them either to go forward, or, if they be denied, with guns and spears to destroy them. The Turks seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward, except the captain would take the venture before them; who, warding forward in his array, thus spake unto his fellows, saying: "Do you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the emperor of Constantinople unto the Christians, if you will, but I will discharge my duty towards the commonwealth, and my emperor;" and with that word advanced his ensign, making toward the city walls. Whom when others followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain by our men upon the walls, before it was known what they meant. Others, terrified by their example, gave back and left their array, and winding themselves by by-ways, and under covert of hills, returned again into their tents; and so came it to pass, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less and less hope every day than the other, of obtaining the city. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turks upon the walls, the townsmen also, watching the foragers and purveyors of the Turks, as they ranged about for victual for the camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by the way, that of a whole legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their fellows alive; by means whereof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvellous alteration happened, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turks began still more to droop and to languish with despair; so that at length scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to show themselves.

Solyman, perceiving his soldiers thus daily to go to wrack, of whom

The Turk
and his
soldie
cannot
agree.

Compul-
sion of
men
serveth
not where
the Lord
defend-
eth.

Slaughter
of the
Turks at
Vienna.

he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of forage, for that the country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his captains and councillors, what remained best to be done; of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betimes to provide for himself: which to do, many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, who daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides those who lay in his camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the near approach of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederic Palatine above-mentioned, was coming with a great army at Ratisbone, towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turkish foragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so inclosed in the woods, that he slew them: whereof when Solymán had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, he made haste with bag and baggage to remove his camp, and to retire; and first sending away his carriage before him, he made speed himself with his army to follow shortly after.

Solymán
The Turk
beginneth
to take
counsel to
retire.

Solymán
removeth
from
Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the removing away of the Turks, although at first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterwards certified out of doubt both of their removing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in the manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the city after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet, notwithstanding, they took the opportunity of the time present, and issuing out of the city, in most speedy wise set after them with their horsemen: and first overpassing the tents (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pavilions) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rear-ward or latter end of the army, whereof they made such havoc and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was never a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawn, nor stroke stricken, which lighted in vain; which was no hard thing for our men to do, for, as the Turks in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their fellows, it was easy for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet, notwithstanding, in long pursuit, when our men could not see the carriage of the Turks, which was wont in armies to come away behind after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy wait behind them, to come betwixt them and home, they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certain scouts, to espy and bring them word where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the Turk's army was remaining in the tents behind, word was sent to their fellows in Vienna to issue out, and to join also with them against the tail of the Turks, who had entrenched themselves within the camp. Others were appointed to follow the chase, lest peradventure the Turks, seeing our men to recule back, might return again upon them and help their fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time,

The
Turk's
camp
pursued
in their
flight.

The privy
purpose
of the
Turks
prevent-
ed.

Solyman. while part of the Viennians were hovering after the main army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the camp, who, seeing themselves overmatched, first defended their camp with a deep ditch and bulwark, to delay the time, until some help might come to them from the army: secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to treat for peace: thirdly, they conveyed their privy letters unto Solyman, for speedy aid and rescue; but all the ways and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted. And so the miserable Turks, being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence; but, in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were inclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the sword and slain, a few only excepted, who, escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellows, as well as they could. Their carriage, and other furniture left behind them in their tents, was distributed amongst the soldiers; only such things reserved as might serve for the public use and commodity of the city.

The rest
of the
Turks
slain in
the camp.

Merciful
protec-
tion of
God over
Christen-
dom.

God's
blessing
goeth
with the
maintain-
ers of his
true wor-
ship and
religion.

Thus, through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostility of the cruel Turks, notwithstanding that neither Ferdinand the king, nor the emperor his brother, was there present; but only the power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy Germans, defended that city, in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance, no doubt, of all these west parts of Christendom: for which, immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein, by the way, take this for a note, gentle reader! how and after what manner God's blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turks in so many battles and sieges heretofore, were never so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in encountering with the protestants, and defenders of sincere religion. This city of Vienna was besieged and delivered, A. D. 1529. The assaults of the Turk against the city are numbered to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his army which he first brought, was 250,000, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away, out of the country about, many captives; virgins and matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked; the children he stuck upon stakes.

Solyman, thus put from the hope of the victory of Vienna, after he had breathed himself a while at home, the second year after, which was A. D. 1531, repairing his host, returned again into Hungary, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the town called Guns, being but slenderly kept with a small garrison, by reason whereof the townsmen and soldiers, yielding themselves unto the Turks, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions.¹

Melchior Soiterus, in his second book, writing 'De bello Panonico,' touching the aforesaid town of Guns or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Ramus, declaring how this Guns, being a small town in Hungary, and having in it but only a hundred soldiers

(1) Ex Johanne Ramo.

(or, as Wolfgangus Drechslerus in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred soldiers), under the valiant captain Nicholas Jureschitz defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand Turks, that they, notwithstanding being distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the Turks invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty-five days together.

Solyman.
Nicholas Jureschitz a valiant captain.

Although the narration of the author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, That what time the great ordnance and battering pieces of the Turks were planted upon two mountains much higher than the town, whereby they within the town were oppressed both before and behind, insomuch that eight ensigns of the Turks were already within the town; yet by reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the town were congregated in a house together, such a noise and clamour went up to heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the Turks within the walls, supposing a new army of fresh soldiers to be sent into the town, for sudden fear voided the town, and leaped down from the walls again (which before they had got), whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a soldier almost was left on the walls, who was not either slain or else wounded with the Turks' ordnance. At that time, through the Lord's providence, it so happened, that one Ibrahim Pasha, near about the Turk, seeing both the town to be small, and the great destruction of the Turks in the siege thereof, and that the captain in no case would yield, persuaded so the Turk, declaring how the town, being so little, was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow; whereby the Turk being persuaded did follow his counsel, which was this: That Nicholas, the christian captain, being called unto him under pledges and safe-conduct, should receive the town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his soldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the re-curing of them. And so he, raising his siege, departed.

Miraculous example of the Lord's protection and providence.

The Turk raiseth his siege from Guns.

Another cause also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, might be for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore, taking his flight by the mountains of Styria, he returned with much spoil of christian men's goods unto Constantinople.¹ For so it was provided the same time in Germany, after the council of Augsburg and Ratisbone (at what time the controversy of religion between the protestants and the papists was deferred and set off to the next general council), that Charles V., and Ferdinand his brother, having understanding of the Turk thus ranging in Hungary, should collect of the Germans, Hungarians, Spaniards, and others, an able army of eighty thousand footmen, and thirty thousand horsemen, to repulse the invasions of the Turk. But Solyman, having intelligence of this preparation of the christian power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our

The emperor Charles and Ferdinand begin to stir against the Turk.

(1) Ex Melchior Soit. lib. ii. de bello Paunonico.

Solyman. detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming ; and so, speeding his return unto Constantinople, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised : which was A.D. 1532.

The Turk
warreth
against
the king
of Tunis.

Not long after, being the year of our salvation, 1534, Solyman, intending two wars at once, first sent Conradine Barbarossa, the admiral of his navies, into Africa, to war against the king of Tunis ; whom then Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his kingdom : but Charles the emperor, the next year following (A.D. 1535), restored the said king again into his kingdom, and delivered in the same voyage twenty thousand captives out of servitude.

Tebriz
taken by
the Turk.
Twenty
thousand
of them
slain.

The same time the Turk also sent another captain into Hungary, to war against the Vaivode, while he himself, taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the city Tebriz, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same ; for Tahames king of the Persians, suddenly coming upon the Turks unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his concubines, to the great foil and reproach of the Turk.

Coreyra
wasted
and
spoiled.

Two years after this, which was A.D. 1537, Solyman, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of Asia into Europe with two hundred and seventy ships, great and little, set upon Coreyra, another island belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten days, wasting and burning the towns and fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly he led away captives. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus, and to Cythara, another island not far from Coreyra, bordering near to the coasts of Epirus and Greece, where he, suddenly by night invading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaves ; burning moreover their houses, and carrying away all the goods and cattle being without the said city of Zacynthus and Cythara.¹

Zacyn-
thus and
Cythara
spoiled.

Captives
of the
Chris-
tians.

War be-
tween the
Eginets
and the
Turks.

From thence these hellhounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of Egina, a rich and populous island, lying between Greece and Asia, where first the Eginians did manfully in battle resist them, and were like to have prevailed ; but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turks, who still were sent in, to rescue the others who were overcome before, they were compelled to fly into the city of Egina. That city the cruel Turks (or rather devils on earth), with much labour, and violence of their great ordnance fetched out of their ships, subdued and cast down to the ground ; the citizens and inhabitants whereof, the Turk, after he had burned their houses, and ransacked their goods, commanded to be slain and killed every one. The women, both noble and un noble, with their infants, were given to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped unto Constantinople, were led away to perpetual misery and slavery ; which was A.D. 1537.

Egina
taken.

Islands
subdued
by the
Turks.

In the same journey Solyman also took the isle in the Ægean sea, called Paros ; also the isle adjoining to the same, named Naxos ; and made them to him tributaries : the duke whereof was he

(1) Ex Johan. Crispo, duce Naxi, &c.

who wrote the story both of these islands aforesaid, and also of the *Solyman*. other islands, called Cyclades; and other dukes.¹

This done, Solyman directed his navy unto Apulia, where he set on land ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, who spoiled, likewise, and wasted those parts, while the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians, were together in war and dissension.² Furthermore, the next year following (A.D. 1538), great attempts began in Stiria; but, by the resistance of the inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of men and cattle were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In that year also, the Turk, turning into Hungary, gave battle unto the Christians in Servia; where, through the fraudulent falsehood of the captain Cassianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus), being (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, A.D. 1538.

After that the Turks had invaded the island of Corcyra abovesaid, the Venetians with Solyman the Turk had joined truce for a certain time, for the which they gave to the Turk three hundred thousand crowns, with the city of Napoli di Romania, and Malmasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five years, the Turk, to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and invaded their dominions, whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions again with him.

In the year of our Lord 1540, the restless Turk, making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the town called Castello Nuovo, being defended by the Spaniards; in the which town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and soldiers were put to the sword, and slain every one. This Castello Nuovo, or New Castle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turk's power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungary. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the city of Buda. This Buda was a principal city in Hungary, about which great contention had been (as ye heard before) between John the Vaivode and Ferdinand; by reason whereof the Turk, occasioned by John, came into Hungary and delivered the city to John. This John, dying not long after, left behind him a son, whom, being an infant, he committed to the governance of one Georgius Monachus, who, being left tutor unto the infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pest, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to the Vaivode before, to the subjection of the child. Ferdinand, hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger levied an army to recover his lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus, seeing his party weak, first sent his legate to Ferdinand, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both: whereupon, both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties, according to the agreement, conventing together with their

Falsehood of the Turk with the Venetians.

Castello Nuove overthrown by the Turk.

Contention in Hungary between Ferdinand and the Vaivode and his successors.

(1) Ex Johanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.

(2) Note what hurt cometh by the dissension of christian princes.

(3) Stiria is a country or province nearly adjoining to Austria.

Solyman.

Communica-
tion between
Monachus and
Ferdinand.
What hurt may
come of rash sus-
picion.

The Turk
called
again into
Hungary.

Cowardly
voyage of
Joachim,
duke of Branden-
burg,
against
the Turk.

A num-
ber of
christian
soldiers
taken by
the Turks.

Horrible
punish-
ments
practised
by the
Turks.

armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entered in communi-
cation, suddenly among Ferdinand's men happened a dag to be heard,
which, by the heat of the day, as is thought, loosing of its own accord,
gave a crack; the sound whereof coming to the ears of Monachus,
he, supposing the same to have been discharged against him, in great
anger drew out his sword, bidding Ferdinand avaunt with his doubling
dissimulation, saying, that he would never any more trust the pro-
mises of Christians. And immediately upon the same, he sent to
Solyman the Turk for aid against the Christians, promising that he
would surrender to him free possession of Hungary, if he would come
and vanquish the army of Ferdinand lying about the siege of Buda.
The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occasion, and
with a mighty power flieth into Hungary, and eftsoons discharging
the host of Ferdinand, and putting them off from the siege of Buda,
getteth the city into his own hands, commanding the son of Vaivoda,
with his mother, to follow after his camp.

In the history of Johannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman
the Turk had thus prevailed against the city of Buda aforesaid, and
against other parts besides of Hungary, by the assent of the empire,
one Joachim, duke of Brandenburg, prince elector, was assigned with
a puissant army of chosen soldiers of all nations collected, to recover
the city of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of
Christendom from the fear of the Turk [A.D. 1542]; which Joachim,
at his first setting forth, appeared so courageous and valiant, as though
he would have conquered the whole world. But this great heat was
so slackened in short time by the Turk, that before any great jeopardy
was offered unto him, he was glad to be discharged of the viage, and
with shame enough returned home again. And would God he had
left behind him in the fields no more but his own shame! for the
enemies having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking
to work some point of mastery or victory before his going, did set
upon the right wing of his army (which chiefly consisted of Dutchem-
men of Low Germany), out of which they took away with them above
five hundred strong and valiant soldiers, not killing them, but carrying
them away alive: for whom it had been much better to have stood
to their weapon, and to have died manfully upon the Turks, than by
yielding themselves, to be disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so
to be left to the cursed courtesy of the foul Turks. To whom what
courtesy was showed, by the sequel did appear. For, after the Turks
had led them out of Hungary into their own dominions, after a most
horrible and beastly sort they disfigured and mangled them; and so
sent them abroad through all Greece, to be witnesses of the Turk's
victory. Their kind of punishment was thus: first, they had their
right arm thrust through with an iron red hot, whereby they should
be unable and unmeet to all labour and warfare: secondly, their
heads were shaven to the very sculls, after the manner of our friars
and monks, when they are newly shaven: thirdly, they were all most
dreadfully mutilated; which wound was so grievous unto them, that
the greatest part of them died thereupon: the few that recovered the
torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miserable than death
itself. And this kind of cruelty was executed in order upon them all.
In much like sort did cruel Pharaoh exercise his tyranny against the

people of God in Egypt; who, to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to be drowned in the river. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharaoh is come to such an extremity, the merciful goodness of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other unto us, for our speedy deliverance. This was by the cruel Turks done, A.D. 1542, witnessed by Johannes Ramus, who not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his own eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who, having wife and children in Brussels, either for shame or sorrow, had no mind to return home to his own house.¹

But to return again to the city of Buda, from whence we have digressed; here is not to be pretermitted what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their victory. For, after that Solymán the Turk, upon the yielding and submission of the men of Buda, had given to them his promise of safety and life, within a short time the said Turk, picking a quarrel with them for selling oxen unto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the magistrates of the said city of Buda: like as in all other cities, wheresoever the Christians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely, kept his promise with them, neither did ever any Christians speed better with the Turk, than they who most constantly did resist him.

And as his promise with the magistrates of Buda was false and wretched, so his cruelty with the soldiers thereof was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, amongst the rest who were slain, two cohorts or bands of christian soldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour again, and to dispose themselves in order and battle array, after the warlike manner of the Christians; which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandment, and he, riding about the ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their armour again. This done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out; the residue he commanded, by his soldiers coming behind them with swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the others, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for marks and butts to be shot at; some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slash with their swords and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their christian bodies.²

After the winning of Buda, the Turk, purposing not so to cease before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all Hungary; proceeding further with his army, first, brought under a strong hold of the Christians, named Pestum or Pest, where a great number of christian soldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo, situate in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary, which fort or castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them,

Solymán.

Falseness of the Turks in keeping no promise with the Christians.

Horrible example of the cruelty of the Turks.

The castle of Walpo won.

(1) *Ex Johanne Ramo de Rebus Turcicis, lib. ii.*

(2) *Ex Epist. Mart. Stellæ de Successibus Turcarum, &c.*

Solyman.

A notable
example
of God's
judgments
lighting
upon
those who
mean
falsehood
toward
the inno-
cent.

neither from Ferdinand king of Hungary, nor from any other christian prince or princes : whereupon, at length, the fort was given up to the Turk, but more through the false treachery, or cowardly heart of the soldiers, than of the captain. Wherein is to be noted an example not unworthy of memory ; for when the cowardly soldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the place unto the Turk, contrary to the mind of the captain, who in no case would agree to their yielding, they, thinking to find favour with the Turk, apprehended their captain and gave him to Solyman. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hand of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of virtue and punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the danger of the faithful captain, the event turned clean contrary ; so that the Turk was to the captain bountiful and very liberal, and the soldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded piteously to be slain.¹

The city
of Fünf-
kirchen
yielded to
the
Turks.

The
bishop
leaveth
his flock
in the
hriers.

See
Appendix.

There is in Hungary another town, bearing the name of Fünf-kirchen, or 'The Five Churches,' which being partly spoiled before, as is above-mentioned,² was now, through the loss of Walpo, and by the hugeness of the Turk's army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting men) so discouraged and put out of hope and heart, that the bishop and chief nobles of the town, fled before the jeopardy : the rest of the commons, who were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the Turks, partly for poverty could not avoid, sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield and surrender the town, upon promise of life, into his hands ; whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this Fünf-kirchen, never a Turk durst enter the city. A. D. 1543.³

Siklos,
a town in
Hungary,
subdued.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turks in Hungary, was Siklos. The town, at the first invasion of the Turks, was won, sacked, and fired. The castle within the town did something hold out for a time ; and first requiring truce for fourteen days, to see what aid should be sent unto them ; and to deliberate upon the conditions that should be proposed unto them, after the fourteen days expired, they, trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong, began, for a certain space, stoutly to put back the enemy. But afterwards, seeing their walls to be battered, their foundations to shake (for the Turk had set twelve thousand underminers under the ditches of the castle), and their strength to diminish, and mis-doubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with life and goods : which condition of saving their goods was the losing of their lives, especially of the richer sort ; for the Turks perceiving by that condition that they were of wealth and substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the wealthy men for their riches, and slew them every one. A. D. 1543.⁴ In the which his history, this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Siklos was besieged, the villages and pages round about the same came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the Turk, bringing in, as they were commanded, all kind of victual and forage into the

Covetous-
ness of
worldly
goods is
the de-
struction
of many.

The
Turk
keepeth
no pro-
mise.

(1) Ex Johan. Martino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria sucec sibus, &c.

(2) Fünfkirchen ; see p. 54.—E. v.

(3) Ibid. et alius.

(4) Ibid.

Turk's camp: which done, Solyman the Turk commanded all the headmen of the pages to appear before him, who humbly obeyed and came. Then the Turk warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his inferior retinue and household servants; which when they had with like diligence also, according to his commandment, accomplished, the Turk immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole army to be slain: and so was this their reward: which reward, the more it declareth the bloody cruelty of the Turk, the more encouragement it may minister to our men the more constantly to withstand him.¹

Solyman.
Example
what
cometh
by Chris-
tian
men's
yielding
to the
Turk.

Another strong town there is in Hungary, named Gran, distant from Buda abovesaid the space of five Dutch miles, against the which the Turks made great preparation of ordnance, and all other instruments of artillery necessary for the siege thereof; which city, in like manner, began also to be compassed and inclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished of our men, but that the archbishop only of Gran privily conveyed unto them two hundred oxen; such was then the negligence of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, who so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his towns and cities. Moreover, such was the discord then of christian kings and princes, who in their civil dissension and wars were so occupied and hot in needless quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time, there, where true need required: which slender care and cold zeal of the christian rulers, in not tendering the public cause, while they contended in private trifles, hath caused the Turk to come so far as he hath; and yet further is like, unless the mercy of the Lord do help, more than our diligence. One of the chief captains within the city was Martinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

Strigonium, or Gran,
besieged
by the
Turk.

Negli-
gence of
christian
princes in
public
defence.

The Turks, in the beginning of the siege, began first to tempt the citizens, with fair words and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves; but they, not ignorant of the Turk's promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of their city; now and then skirmishing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; sometimes with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheels of their guns, &c.

Three special means the Turks use in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of soldiers; great ordnance and mortar pieces; the third is by undermining: all which here, in the siege of this city, lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certain space; in which the citizens of Gran had borne out four strong assaults, and slew many thousands of the Turks; till at length the Turks either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto Buda, the people at last being so persuaded and made to believe of some chief rulers of the city (peradventure not the truest men), the citizens, being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though the city had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsel it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out of the city: three hundred horsemen also passed over the river and departed. The Italians, who were under Franciscus Salamanca, a Spanish captain, hardly could be persuaded by him to abide, who were in all scarce six hundred.

Three
special
helps of
the Turks

The citi-
zens of
Gran fly
the city.

Within three days after, three hundred German soldiers, with two

(1) Ex Martino Stella.

Solyman. ships laden with shot, powder, and artillery, were privily let into the town, so that of our men in all there were scarce one thousand three hundred soldiers; who, seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the town and suburbs, took them to the castle; from whence they beat off the Turks valiantly with their ordnance a good space, and with wildfire destroyed great companies of them, till at last, seeing their walls to fail them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian surnamed Presbyter, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or falsehood, secretly, unknown to the rest of the soldiers, accompanied by two others, conveyed himself down from the walls, and being brought into the tents of the next captain or bassa of the Turks, there, in the name of all his fellows, convented with the Turks, to give up to them the castle: whereupon the Turks were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian, shortly after, with two other Turks, was sent back to Salamanca, his captain, with the Turk's message. The going out of this Italian being privy to the residue of his fellows, contrary to the laws and discipline of war, although it seemed to come of his own head, yet, forasmuch as the other soldiers were not sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians, his countrymen, had been in some part of consent therein, and would take his part, they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise with themselves what was best to do, for fear of privy confederacy, within themselves.

An Italian sent in yielding the castle of Gran to the Turk.

A Turkish truce taken with the Christians, they not knowing thereof.

The false Turks never true in promise.

Miserable affliction of our christian soldiers taken at Striegau.

Thus, while Iascanus the chief captain of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow-soldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who giving a sign both to the Christians and the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of war to fight after peace and truce taken, our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward tower. The Turks, in the mean time, had got into the castle, and occupied all the outer parts. Then was Salamanca, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turk, who, being stayed there that night, the next morrow the Turk's bull or warrant was sent into the castle, permitting free liberty to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage; who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the Turks, compassing them round about, to cast from them their dags, lances, and battleaxes, into the trench. Then coming to the gate to go out, their swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last, when they were come a little further, others were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their targets, cuirasses, and whatsoever piece of harness was about them: whereupon great fear came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be showed upon them. Solyman, after he had long deliberated with himself, whether to kill them or not, at last, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives: but, before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be baited with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish army; and so the next day commanded them, being stript out of their coats and apparel, to be reduced again into the castle by companies, setting over them certain Turks with cudgels and bats to lay upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury the dead carcasses, and to gather up the rubbish broken down from the castle-walls,

and to scour the ditches. This done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serve him in his wars; which condition, divers for fear were contented to take, seeing no other remedy to avoid present death. Some, neither by menacing words, nor for any fear of death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, who stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs.

Solyman.
Holy soldiers and martyrs slain by the Turks for their faithful religion.

Of the aforesaid Christians, part were carried over the river Danube, not without great villany, and contumely most despitiful. For some had their wives taken from them, and carried away; some had their wives abused before their face; and such as made or showed any resistance thereat, had their wives before them cast into the river and drowned; also their infants and young children, being appointed by the Turks to the abominable order of the Janizaries, mentioned before, their parents, not consenting thereunto, were precipitated and thrown into the river, and drowned. All these things are testified by John Martin Stella, in his epistles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael; which Martin Stella, moreover, addeth and affirmeth this: that he himself, being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the aforesaid wives, who, being held fast by the hair of the head, yet notwithstanding, having her hair plucked off, cast herself into the river Danube, for the singular love to her husband, and so swam to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians mixed together, macerated with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof were noised at Vienna, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all men's hearts were moved and vexed diversely. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their city, showing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again, that mercy was to be showed unto them, and commended their fact, for that they, being so few, and unfurnished with aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the Turks, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captains brought the poor remnant of that rueful company unto Presburg, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter, how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of Gran.

Divers opinions of the Viennians touching these miserable afflicted soldiers.

The Turk, proceeding in his victories, conducted his army next unto Dotis, and to the parts lying near about Comorn. This Dotis was also a stronghold in Hungary, wherein were placed certain garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constituted by Philippus Tornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowess of war, but of a filthy corrupt life, and also a foul swearer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the story short, this fort of Dotis, before any siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the Turks; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the author sheweth not. Thus much he showeth, that the said Annibal, shortly upon the same,

Dotis subdued by the Turks.

Victory hath never success under a wicked captain, and swearer.

Sofzman. returning into Italy, was commanded by Tornelius aforesaid to be apprehended and beheaded.

Stuhlweissenberg besieged. After the Turks had subverted and destroyed the fort of Dotis, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis¹, for that the kings of Hungary have been always wont there to be crowned and buried.

See Appendix. This Alba is a little well-compacted city in Hungary, having on the one side a marsh somewhat foggish or fenny, which made the town less assaultable. But, near to the same was a wood, from which the Turks every day, with six hundred carts, brought such matter of wood, and trees, felled for the purpose, into the marsh, that, within less than twelve days, they made it apt and hard to their feet; which the townsmen thought never could be gone upon, but only in the hard frosts of winter.

The Turks' device in filling up the marsh.

Stratagem of the Christians against the Turks.

At the first beginning of the siege, there stood, a little without the munitions, in the front of the city, a certain church or monastery, into which the citizens, pretending to maintain and keep against the Turks, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with powder in secret places thereof, and had hid also fire withal: which done, they (as against their wills being driven back) withdrew themselves within the munitions, waiting the occasion when this fire would take. Thus the Turks having the possession of the church, suddenly the fire coming to the powder, raised up the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous Turks. This was not so soon espied of them within the town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom, divers of their nobles also the same time were slain, and one bassa, a eunuch, who was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners, which the French king is said to have sent to the Turk a little before: which if it be true, let the christian reader judge what is to be thought of those christian princes, who, not only forsaking the common cause of Christ's church, joined league with the Turk, but also sent him gunners to set forward his wars to the destruction of Christ's people, and to the shedding of their blood; for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I show mine author;² if it be, then let the pope see and mark well, how this title of 'Christianissimus' can well agree with such doings.

A note touching the French king that then was.

But to let this matter sleep, although the Turks (as ye heard) had won the fen, with their policy and industry, against Stuhlweissenberg, yet all this while the citizens were nothing inferior to their enemies, through the valiant help and courageous endeavour of Octavianus Scruzatus, a captain of Milan, by whose prudent counsel and constant standing, the busy enterprises of the Turks did little prevail a long time; till at length, suddenly arose a thick fog or mist upon the city, whereas, round about besides, the sun did shine bright. Some said it came by art magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the fen or marsh, being so pressed down with men's feet, and other matter laid upon it.

The outward walls got by the Turks.

The Turks using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret wise approaching the walls, had got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them; where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the christian

(1) Stuhlweissenberg; see the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Epist. Johan. Marti. Stelle ad fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria secuti sumus.

soldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their lives, did what valiant men in cases of such extremity were able to do; yet, being overmatched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, they gave back, seeking to retire unto the inward walls, which when their other fellows did see to recule, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the city. There was between the outward walls or vaumures, and inward gate of the city, a strait or narrow passage, east up in the manner of a bank or causeway, ditched on both sides, which passage or ingress happened at the same time to be barred and stopped; by reason whereof the poor soldiers were forced to cast themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city, where many of them, sticking in the mud, were drowned, one pressing upon another: many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few, who could swim out, were received into the city; but the chief captains and warders of the town were there slain.

Solyman
Miserable slaughter of christian soldiers.

The citizens, being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus, while the minds of the citizens were distracted in divers and doubtful sentences, the magistrates, minding to stand to the Turk's gentleness,¹ sent out one of their heads unto the Turk, who, in the name of them all, should surrender to him the city, and become unto him tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of life and goods. This being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance; first, the soldiers who were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away; who, being but only three hundred left of four ensigns of Italians, and of one thousand Germans, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians for hope of their spoil; so that they, scattering asunder one one way, and another another, to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best; of whom, some wandering in woods and marshes fainted for famine; some were taken and slain by the Hungarians: a few, with bare, empty, and withered bodies, more like ghosts than men, escaped, and came to Vienna. And this befell upon the soldiers.

Now understand what happened to the yielding citizens. So in the story it followeth, that when the Turk had entered the town, and had visited the sepulchre of the kings, for three or four days he pretended much clemency toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of Ferdinand their king, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On the fourth day, all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk, in a plain not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the citizens in great number, and in their best attire were assembled, the Turk, contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba or Stuhlweissenberg.

What it is to yield to the Turk, and to stick to his promise.

(1) Let good Christians never stand to the Turk's gentleness.

Solyman.

Half a young child found in the satchel of a captive coming from the Turks.

In the mean time, during the siege aforesaid, the Hungarians. meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, who were sent out to stop their victuals from the city, slew of them, at one bickering, three thousand Turks: in which story is also reported and mentioned of mine author, a horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certain captain (a Christian belike), who, coming unto Vienna, was found to have in his scrip or satchel the half of a young child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before. A.D. 1543.¹

Next after this, was expugned the castle of Papa by the Turks. Let the castle of 'Papa' now take heed, lest one day it follow after!

Visegrade surprised by the Turks.

The like fidelity the Turks also kept with the fort of Visegrade, and the soldiers thereof. This Visegrade is situate in the mid-way between Buda and Gran; of the which fort or castle the highest tower so mounteth upon the hill, that unless it be for famine or lack of water, they have not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding so it happened, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of life and goods, to yield themselves. But the devilish Turks, keeping no faith nor promise, slew them every one: only Petrus Amandus, the captain of the piece, excepted; who privily was conveyed by the captain of the Turks, out of the slaughter. A.D. 1544.

The false dealing of the Turks against the Christians.

Castello Nuovo, in Dalmatia, won by the Turks.

To these, moreover, may be added the winning of Castello Nuovo, in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both soldiers and others, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the people and flock of Christ.

Discord of christian princes.

The providence of God for his Christians.

The Turk occasioned to return out of Europe into Asia.

As the false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and might easily then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that Charles the emperor, and Francis the French king, were at the same time in war and hostility, and also other christian princes; as Henry, duke of Brunswick, against John Frederic, duke of Saxony; also princes and rulers were contending among themselves: behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly, as with a snaffle, reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his own country again, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion; by reason whereof the Turks were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which wars at length being achieved and finished (wherein the said Turk lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks), he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of christian princes, to return again into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an army incredible of such a multitude of Turks, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord

(1) Ex Epist. Marti. Stellæ ad fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria successibus. [pp. 601 17. in Chalcondyla., edit. Basil. 1556.]

sent such a pestilence through all the Turk's army and dominion, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thrace to Macedonia, and also to Hungary, that all the Turk's possession seemed almost nothing else, but as a heap of dead corpses, whereby his voyage for that time was stopped, and he almost compelled to seek a new army.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any war, other lets also and domestic calamities, through God's providence, happened unto Solyman, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians; especially touching his eldest son, Mustapha.

Another example of God's providence

This Mustapha being hated, and partly feared of Rustan, the chief councillor about the Turk, and of Rosa, the Turk's concubine and afterwards his wife, was divers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turk, by them aforesaid, that, in conclusion, his father caused him to be sent for to his pavilion, where six Turks with visors were appointed to put him to death: who, coming upon him, put, after their manner, a small cord or bow-string full of knots about his neck, and so, throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrated, afterwards, when the Turk would have given to another son of his and of Rosa, called Gianger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornaments, and the province of Mustapha his brother, Gianger, crying out for sorrow of his brother's death: "Fye of thee!" saith he to his father, "thou impious and wretched dog, traitor, murderer; I cannot call thee father. Take the treasures, the horse, and the armour of Mustapha to thyself;" and with that, taking out his dagger, thrust it through his own body. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his own sons: which was in A.D. 1552.

Solyman murdereth Mustapha, his own son.

Herein, notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Mustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians: wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks afore recited, now, after this Solyman, intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now, by taking away these young imps of this impious generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us: the Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen!

The loving providence of our Lord for his Christians.

Good hope at God's hand to be conceived of the Christians.

Moreover, as I was writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain writing out of Germany, certifying us of such news and victory of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope, and comfort us, touching the decay and ruin of the Turk's power and tyranny against us; which news are these: That after the Turkish tyrant had besieged, with an army of 30,000 men, the famous

Good news of the Turks lately repulsed by the Christians.

Solyman, and strong town and castle of Gyula, in Hungary, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river Danube, which city had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults, God, through his great mercy and goodness, so comforted the said town of Gyula, and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest prayers, that the Turk, with all his host, was driven back by the hands of the general, called Karetshim Laslaw, and his valiant company; who not only defended the said town, but also constrained the Turks to retire, to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for which the everlasting God be praised for ever.

Eight
thousand
Turks
slain.

Chris-
tians res-
cued and
taken
from the
Turks.

A great
captain
of the
Turks
slain, and
his trea-
sure
taken.

The manner of the overthrow was this: As the aforesaid general did see his advantage, with captain George and other horsemen of the Silesians and Hungarians, they set on the rearward of the Turks, and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flee into a marshy ground, and to break the wheels of the rest or their artillery to save themselves; and therewith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides, and taking from the Turks, a great number of christian prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God, for the prosperous success given to Magotschy, the valiant captain of Erlan, who, making toward the Turks and encountering with the Tartarians, slew of them about eight hundred.

Not long after this it happened, through the like providence of our God, that a Turkish captain called Begen, accompanied with a thousand fresh horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go toward the city named Quinque Ecclesie, or Fünfkirchen, with whom the earl of Serin, by the way, did encounter, and in the night, setting upon him, killed the captain, and took eight camels, and eight mules laden with treasure, and also got two red guidons,¹ with a whole great piece of rich cloth of gold, and with another fair and strange jewel. The horse of this aforesaid Turkish captain was betrayed and decked most richly; the saddle whereof had the pommel and back part covered over with plate of fine Arabic gold, and the rest of the saddle, besides the sitting place, was plated with silver very fair gilded. The seat of the saddle was covered with purple velvet; the trappings and bridle beset with little turquoises and rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna, unto the emperor Maximilian, for a present.

Although the earl would very fain have saved the captain, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizaries, labouring to carry away their captain, so stiffly defended themselves, that the earl, with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captain. From whom the said earl of Serin, the same time, got fifteen thousand Turkish and Hungarian ducats; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish soldiers in the aforesaid town of Fünfkirchen. All which be good beginnings of greater goodness to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord; especially if our christian rulers and potentates, first, the churchmen and prelates for their parts, then, the civil powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of Peace put in their minds to do. Amen! Or otherwise, if it will so

(1) "Guidons," standards.—Ed

please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun for our punishment and castigation, his grace then give to the flock of his poor Christians constancy of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life. For so I understand by public fame, although uncertainly rumoured by the voice of some, that the Turks' power of late, this present year of our Lord, 1566, hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of a hundred miles toward Naples: which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetness of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also, so far into Italy, that he will display his banners within the walls of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahomet, his great grandfather, did with new Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

Solyman.
The
Turks
piercing
into Italy

The causes why we have so to judge, be divers: first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood again, according to the verdict of the gospel: "He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword," &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of Apocalypse xviii., where it is written, "That great Babylon shall fall, and be made an habitation of devils, and a den of unclean spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean birds:" the fall wherof shall be like a mill-stone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And that this is to come before the day of judgment, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, showing, That the kings of the earth, and the merchants, which had to do with the whorish city, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said city flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What city this is, called Great Babylon, which, like a mill-stone, shall fall and burn, and be made a habitation of unclean spirits and beasts, let the reader construe. This is certain and plain, by these her kings and merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this city (what city soever it be) shall be seen here on earth before the coming of the Lord's judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances; that is, by the standing, the beholding, and the bewailing of her merchants; by which merchants and kings of the earth, peradventure, may be signified the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelates, and the fat doctors, and other obedientiaries of the Romish see, who, at the coming of the Turks, will not adventure their lives for their church, but will flee the city, no doubt, and stand afar off from danger. And when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel Turks, the sight thereof shall seem to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fair city of Rome, the tall castle of St. Angelo, the pope's mighty see (where they were wont to fish out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure), so to burn before their eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made a habitation of devils and unclean spirits; that is, of Turks and heathen sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c. This, I say, peradventure, may be the

Conjectures
why it is
to be
feared,
that the
Turk will
get Rome.

The prophecy of
Apocalypse
xviii.
explained.

Solyman. meaning of that prophetical place of the Apocalypse; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my guess, what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this, and all other things, more plain and manifest; for mystical prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

Third cause. Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Jovius, who, writing of the subversion of Rhodes, which was as ye heard A. D. 1522, upon Christmas day, saith, that it chanced suddenly, the same day, in Rome, that as pope Adrian VI. was entering into the church to his service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the chapel door, which was of marble, immediately as the pope was entering, fell down, and slew certain of his guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruin of Rome was not long after to follow the loss of Rhodes.

Fourth cause. The fourth cause I borrow out of Johannes Aventinus, who, in his third book, alleging the names, but not the words of Hildegard, Briget, and other prophetical persons, hath these words; "*Si vera sint carmina et vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, et Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, et Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ nostro ævo completa vidimus longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt; Agrippinensis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarum caput erit.*" &c.; that is, "If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Briget, and other prophetical persons, be true, which, being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished; the city of Cologne, will we, nill we, must needs be the head city of the Turks."¹

And this I write, not as one pronouncing against the city of Rome what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall: which if it come to pass (as I pray God it may not), then shall the pope well understand, whither his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glossers upon the same, have brought him.

A caveat to the bishop of Rome, if he be wise.

Wherefore my counsel to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and upholders is, to humble themselves, and to agree with their brethren betimes, letting all contention fall: lest that while the bishop of Rome shall strive to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or, peradventure, no bishop at all.

Whereupon also another cause may be added, taken out of Hieronymus Savonarola, who prophesieth, that one like unto Cyrus shall come over the Alps, and destroy Italy: whereof see more before.

This Solyman, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned forty-six years, who began the same year in which the emperor Charles V. was crowned, which was A. D. 1520, and so hath continued, by God's permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1566. This Solyman, by one of his concubines, had his eldest son, called Mustapha. By another concubine called Rosa, he had four sons, Mahomet, Bajazet, Selim, and Gianger: of which sons, Mustapha and Gianger were slain (as ye heard before) by means of their

own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turks, out of the authors hereunder written.¹ *Solyman.*

A NOTICE TOUCHING THE MISERABLE PERSECUTION, SLAUGHTER, AND CAPTIVITY, OF THE CHRISTIANS
UNDER THE TURKS.

Hitherto thou hast heard, christian reader ! the lamentable persecutions of these latter days, wrought by the Turks against the people and servants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad ; the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be, who, falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world ; when indeed it is nothing less, as testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who, rightly defining his kingdom, teacheth us, that his kingdom is not of this world ; premonishing us also before, that in this world we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history, through all ages, are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our eyes to the first ten persecutions in the primitive church, during the first three hundred years after Christ ; or whether we consider the latter three hundred years in this last age of the church, wherein the poor flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed, and devoured, that it is hard to say, whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the infidel emperors of Rome, in the primitive age of the church, or else these barbarous Turks, in these our later times of the church now present.

Persecution under the Turk

Comparison between the persecutions of the primitive, and the latter church.

Thus, from time to time, the church of Christ hath had little or no rest in this earth : what for the heathen emperors on the one side ; what for the proud pope on the other side ; on the third side, what for the barbarous Turk : for these are, and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalypse by “ the beast, the false lamb, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foul spirits, like frogs, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty.” [Apoc. xvi.] The cruelty and malice of these three enemies against Christ’s people hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty of persecution, it is hard to say ; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks especially, above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any age, or read of in any story : inasmuch that there is neither history so perfect, nor writing so diligent, who, writing of the miserable

Three special enemies of Christ’s church.

The cruelty of the furious Turks described

(1) *The Authors of the Turks’ Stories.*

Laonicus Chalcondylas.	Ludovicus Vives.	Paulus Jovius.
Nicolaus Euboeicus Episc. Sagundinus.	Bernardus de Breydenbach. Sabellicus.	Johan. Martinus Stella.
Johannes Ramus.	Mityleneus Archiepisc.	Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Andreas a Lacuna.	Isidorus Ruthenus.	Nicolaus a Moſian Burgundus.
Wolfgangus Drechslerus.	Marinus Barletius.	Sebast. Munsterus.
Johannes Crispus.	Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.	Baptista Egnatius.
Johannes Faber.	Melchior Soiterus.	Barthol. Peregrinus.

Solyman.

Two
things to
be noted
in the
Turks.

tyranny of the 'Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poor christian men's bodies, within the compass of these latter three hundred years. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet, to give to the reader some general guess or view thereof, let us first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strongholds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians; in all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turks ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that death, almost, had been to them more tolerable.

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was, that no man could step with his feet in all Rome, but should tread upon a martyr; so here may be said, that almost there is not a town, city, or village, in all Asia and Greece, also in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of the Christians, whom the cruel Turks have murdered: of whom are to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut in pieces, of children sticked upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turks most spitefully, and that in the sight of their parents, use to gore to death. Some they drag at their horse's tails, and fannish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; others they make marks to shoot at: upon some they try their swords, how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their horses; women with child they spare not, but mangle their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make havoe of all.¹

So the citizens of Croia, after they had yielded and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had given himself to the Turk's hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out, with basons red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through! At the winning of the city of Buda, what tyranny was showed and exercised against the poor Christians who had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Besserer, and Johan Traubinger, contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the Turk, to be seen in the story of Melehior Soiterus, '*De belle Pannonico.*'² The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de

(1) Ex Marino Barletio de Scod. expugnat. lib. ii.

(2) Lib. i. fol. 514. [appended to Laon. Chalcondylas, edit. 1556.]

Breydenbach,¹ who, writing of the taking of Otranto, a city in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter, of the young men there slain, of old men trodden under the horses' feet, of matrons and virgins abused, of women with child cut and rent a-pieces, of the priests in the churches slain, and of the archbishop of that city, who, being an aged man, and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernard, also, writing of the overthrow of Negropont, otherwise called Chaleis, A.D. 1471, describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised, where the Turk, after his promise given before to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, some to be cut in sunder in the midst, and others with other kinds of torments to be put to death: insomuch, that all the streets and ways of Chaleis did flow with the blood of those who were there slain. In that history the aforesaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the prætor's daughter of that city, who, being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine. But she, denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be slain and murdered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ Jesus her spouse.

Solyman.
The superstitious use of the material cross.

A notable example of maidenly chastity.

The like cruelty also was showed upon those who kept the castle, and afterwards, yielding themselves upon hope of the Turk's promise, were slain every one. What should I speak of the miserable slaughter of Modon, and the citizens thereof, dwelling in Peloponnesus? who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the Turk's hands, set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children; some women also with child, voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than they would sustain the Turk's captivity.

Miserable spilling of christian men's blood.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts, and horrible slaughters, wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Greeks martyred by the Turk's sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponnesus? besides the island of Rhodes, and other islands and cyclades adjacent in the sea about, numbered to two and fifty; of which, also, Patmos was one, where St. John, being banished, wrote his Revelations. Where did ever the Turks set any foot, but the blood of Christians there, without pity or measure, went to wrack? and what place or province is there almost throughout the world, where the Turks either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In Thrace, and through all the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia, in Hungary, also in Austria, what havoc hath been made by them of christian men's bodies, it will rue any christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pest, of Stuhlweissenberg, of

Brief recital of christian towns and forts won by the Turk in Europe.

(1) Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach, Decan. Eccl. Moguntinæ. [Itinerarium in terram sanctam, fol., Moguntinæ, 1486.]

Solyman. Walpo, Gran, Siklos, Dotis, Vissegrade, Castello Nuovo in Dalmatia, Belgrade, Waradein, Funf-kirchen: also at the battle of Varna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with almost all his army, through the rashness of the pope's cardinal, were slain. At the winning, moreover, of Szabiak, Alessio, and Drinastro: at the siege of Guns, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of the shot against their walls, at the siege thereof, was reckoned to be two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the christian captives were brought before the whole army and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with horses: but especially at the winning of Constantinople, above mentioned. Also at Croia and Modon, what beastly cruelty was showed, it is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahomet, the drunken Turk, never rose from dinner, but he caused every day, for his disport, three hundred christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face: so, in Modon, after that his captain Omar had sent unto him at Constantinople, five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided asunder by the middle, and so, being slain, to be thrown out into the fields.¹

Cruelty of the Turk against the citizens of Vienna.

His cruelty against the prisoners of Modon.

A strange and prodigious wonder of a brute beast toward a dead christian body.

Laonicus Chalcondylas, writing of the same story addeth, moreover, a prodigious narration, if it be true, of a brute ox, which, being in the fields, and seeing the carcasses of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature: and afterwards, coming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first took up the one half, and then coming again, took up likewise the other half, and so, as he could, joined them both together. Which being espied by those who saw the doing of the brute ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahomet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the beast would come again; who failed not (as the author recordeth), but, in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpse, laid them again together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahomet, being astonished at the strange wonder of the ox, commanded the quarters of the christian man's body to be interred, and the ox to be brought to his house, and much made of. Some said it was the body of a Venetian; some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian; but, whatsoever he was, certain it is, that the Turk himself was much more bestial than was the brute ox; which, being a beast, showed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another.²

The bishop, with the citizens of Modon slain.

To this cruelty add, moreover, that besides these five hundred Modonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Modon, all the townsmen, also, were slain by the aforesaid captain Omar, and, among them, their bishop likewise was put to death.³

John Faber, in his oration made before king Henry VIII., at the appointment of king Ferdinand, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turks toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth, how that in Mitylene, in

(1) Ex Laonico Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis. lib. x.
(3) Ex Andr. de Lacuna et ex Wolg. et aliis.

(2) Ex Laonic. Chalcondyla.

Constantinople, and in Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops, *Solyman.* or other ecclesiastical and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the cities into the fields, there to be slain like oxen and calves.¹ The same Faber also, writing of the battle of Solyman in Hungary, where Louis, the king of Hungary, was overthrown, declareth, that eight bishops in the same field were slain. And moreover, when the archbishop of Gran and Paul, the archbishop of Colosse, were found dead, Solyman caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopped in small pieces. A. D. 1526.

What christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Eubœa, where the said Faber testifieth, that innumerable people were stuck and gored upon stakes, divers were thrust through with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother, were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst!²

But never did country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks, than did Rascia, called Mœsia Inferior, and now Serbia, where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreschlerus) the prince of the same country, being sent for under fair pretence of words and promises to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harm, was apprehended, and wretchedly and falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

Briefly to conclude: By the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitiffs, it may seem that Satan, the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the butchers of all christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they, degenerating from the nature of men to devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitive age of the church, and in the time of Dioclesian and Maximian, when the devil saw that he could not prevail against the person of Christ, which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his simple servants, thinking by the Roman emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ out from the earth: So in this latter age of the world, Satan, being let loose again, rageth by the Turks, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought, as he intendeth, the whole church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord, I trust, will once send a Constantine, to vanquish proud Maxentius; a Moses, to drown indurate Pharaoh; a Cyrus, to subdue the stout Babylonian.

And thus much hitherto touching our christian brethren who were slain and destroyed by these blasphemous Turks. Now, forasmuch as besides these aforesaid, many others were plucked away violently from their country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme poverty, it remaineth likewise to treat somewhat, also, concerning the cruel manner of the Turk's handling of the said christian captives.

Cruelty of the Turk in Eubœa.

The prince of Serbia slain, and slain of the Turk. Let never christian prince trust the Turk.

The Turks stirred up of the devil, to fight against Christ. The Turks are butchers of the Christians.

Misery of the christian captives under the Turk.

The buying and selling of captives.

(1) Ex Johan. Fabro, in oratione ad regem Hen. VIII.

(2) Ex Johan. Fabro, et aliis.

Solyman. And first here is to be noted, that the Turk never cometh into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great escheats: in which chains they link them by fifty and sixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the christian countries; which is lawful for any of the Turks' army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey (whatsoever it be) be reserved to the head Turk; that is, to the great master thief.

Christian
captives
tithed by
the Turk.

Of such as remain for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age), they be sold to the use of husbandry, or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their language and arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage; and such are called in their tongue, *Sarai*. And the first care of the Turks is this: to make them deny the christian religion, and to be circumcised; and, after that, they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their laws, or else to learn the feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow; first beginning with a weak bow, and so, as they grow in strength, coming to a stronger bow; and if they miss the mark, they are sharply beaten: and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in war. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turk's champions, which is the most abominable condition of all others. Of these Janizaries, see before. And if any of the aforesaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any beauty, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and, when age cometh, then they serve instead of eunuchs, to wait upon matrons, or to keep horses and mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

O wickedness
passing
all misery!

†

O misery
above all
miseries!

The servitude of
young women
captives.

Such as be young maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. Those who be of mean beauty, serve for matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning, and such other labours; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their christian religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of those who fall to the Turk by tithe.

The others, who are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take circumcision: which if they will do, they are more favourably treated: but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their country; which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such, coming at length to liberty, will marry, they may; but then their children remain in bond to the lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and, therefore, such as are wise amongst them will not marry. Those who refuse to be circumcised, are miserably handled; for example whereof, the author (who giveth testimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such captives as be expert in any manual art or occupation, can better shift for themselves; but, contrariwise, they who have no handicraft to live upon, are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in learning, or be priests or noblemen, and such others whose

tender education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all others neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them, than of the others; and, therefore, no cost of raiment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead and barefoot, both summer and winter, in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting in any inn, but first he is driven forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set peradventure upon some horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the horse upon his belly, like a calf; and if he chance to die, they take off his garment, such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.¹

In the way moreover, besides the common chain which doth inclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is, because they should not harm their leaders: for many times it happened, that ten persons had the leading of 500 captives; and, when night came, their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay upon the ground all night.

The young women had a little more gentleness showed, being carried in panniers in the daytime. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the injuries which they suffered by their carriers, inso-much that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one sex, as of the other, could not save them from the villany of the Turks.

When the morning cometh, they are brought forth to the market for sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments, vieweth all the bones and joints of their body; and if he like them, he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattle, or to some other strange kind of misery, incredible to speak of: inso-much that the author reporteth, that he hath seen himself, certain of such christian captives yoked together like horses and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid-servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow-servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild fields, without house and harbour, and so, changing their pasture, go from mountain to mountain; of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labour is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their masters to put unto them.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to flee, especially for them that are carried into Asia beyond the seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harvest, when he may hide himself all the daytime in the corn, or in woods or marshes, and find food; and in the night only he fleeth, and had rather be devoured of wolves and other wild beasts, than to return again to his master. In their fleeing they use to take with them a hatchet and cords, that when they come to the sea side, they may cut down trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so, where the sea of Hellespont is narrowest, about Sestos and Abydos, they take the sea, sitting upon

Solyman.

See
Appendix.Miserable
calamity
of christian
women
under the
Turks.

†

Christian
captives
brought
to mar-
kets and
sold.Put to
draw in
the
plough.Danger of
Chris-
tians who
fly out of
Turkey.

(1) Ex Bartholom. Georgievitz Peregrino lib. de afflictionibus Christianorum sub Turca.

Solyman. trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driven back again upon the coasts of Asia, or else be devoured of wild beasts in the woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea alive into Europe, by the way they enter into no town, but wander upon the mountains, following only the north star for their guide.

*Danger of
our men
by the
way.*

As touching such towns and provinces as are won by the Turk, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute, first, all the nobility there they kill and make away; the churchmen and clergy hardly they spare. The churches, with the bells and all the furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous religion; leaving to the Christians certain old and blind chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Neither be they permitted to use any open preaching or ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together; nor is it lawful for any Christian to bear office within the city or province, or to bear weapon; or to wear any garment like to the Turks.¹ And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it ever so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: and then, if thou speak one word against Mahomet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chance a Christian, being on horseback, to meet or pass by a Mussulman, that is, any one of the Turks' religion, he must alight from his horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the Mussulman; or if he do not, he is beaten down from his horse with clubs and staves.

*Christians
meeting a
Mussulman
must
adore
him.*

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the Turk; besides the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every poll within his family a ducat unto the Turk, which if the parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Others being not able to pay, go chained in fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lie in perpetual prison.

*Misery of
taking
away
christian
children
from
their
parents.*

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the Turks, to take up among the Christians' children whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away, being young, from the sight of their parents, to far places, to be brought up for the Turks' wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

O misery!

This misery, passing all other miseries, no man is able with tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation; what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth tear and rend asunder the woful hearts of the simple parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children? to see their sons and their own children, whom they have born and bred up to the service of

(1) If Christians may not go like Turks, why should our gossellers go like papists? The Turks have their fire and faggots as well as our papists.

Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ? to see their babes, born of christian blood, of Christians to be made Turks, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again? to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turks, and so to become of the number of those who are called fatherless and motherless?¹

Albeit the same children afterwards do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the gospel written by St. John, "In principio erat verbum," &c. which, for a token or remembrance of their christian faith, they carry under their arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabic: who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging sword of the Christians, to come and deliver them out of their dolorous thralldom and captivity, according as the Turks themselves have a prophecy, and greatly stand in fear of the same. Whereof more shall be said, Christ willing, in the chapter following.

*Privy
gospellers
in Tur-
key.
See
Appendix.*

*An old
prophecy
touching
the Chris-
tians'
sword.*

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our christian brethren under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have been to God's people, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees: under which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his spouse the church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed! But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our christian guides and leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guiders and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flock.

And these troubles and afflictions of our christian brethren suffered by the Turks, I thought good and profitable for our country people here of England to know, for as much as by the ignorance of these, and such like histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow: whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen, being far off from these countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their grievances, and to pray for them, whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we, not considering the miserable state of others, are the less grateful to God, when any tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it ever so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our country for the Lord's cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own country, and, only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel, with the great crosses whereunto the churches of Christ commonly in other places abroad are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget ourselves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our adversity; and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not, the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appear.

*Neces-
sary that
the
troubles
of the
church be
known.*

(1) This is with tears rather than with words to be expressed.

Solymann.
The
largeness
of the
Turk's
domi-
nions.

Now consequently remaineth, as I have showed hitherto what tyranny hath been used of the Turks against Christ's people, so to declare likewise, how far this tyranny of the Turks hath extended and spread itself; describing, as in a table, to the christian reader, what lands, countries, and kingdoms, the Turks have won and got from Christendom; to the intent, that when christian princes shall behold the greatness of the Turk's dominions spread almost through all the world, and how little a part of Christianity remaineth behind, they may thereby understand the better, how it is time now for them to bestir them, if ever they think to do any good in God's church. And therefore, to make a compendious draft, as in a brief table, of such countries, kingdoms, and dominions, got from us by the Turks, we will first begin with Asia, describing what tracts, countries, cities, and churches, the Turk hath surprised, and violently plucked away from the society of christian dominions, taking only such as be most principal, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to discourse all and singular such places by name, as the Turk hath under his subjection.

The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe;¹ Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the others, and is divided into two portions, the one called Asia Major; the other called Asia Minor. And although the empire of the Turk extendeth unto them both; yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Europe unto Armenia Major, beyond the river Euphrates, and comprehendeth these regions and cities following.

THE DIVISION OF ASIA MINOR, CALLED CHERSONESUS,

With the particular Countries and Cities belonging to the same.

COUNTRIES.

Pontus² and Bithynia.³

CITIES.

Nicea.	Heraclea.	Nicomedia.
Chalcedon.	Prusa or Bursa.	Apamea. ⁴

Natolia, or Anatolia, containeth divers countries, with their cities, as followeth:

COUNTRIES.

Mysia Minor. ⁵	Mysia Major. ⁸	Ionia.
Phrygia Minor. ⁶	Phrygia Major. ⁹	Caria. ¹¹
Troas. ⁷	Lydia. ¹⁰	Doris.
	Æolis.	

CITIES.

Cyzicus.	Dardanum.	Alexandria or Troas. ¹²
Parium.	Callipolis.	Hium.
Lampsacus.	Abydus.	Assos. ¹³

¹ On the 4th of August, 1498, the Great Continent of America was discovered by Columbus; the above observations were made by Foxe, about 1566.—Ed. ⁽²⁾ Acts ii. ⁽³⁾ Ibid. xvi.
⁽⁴⁾ Apamea is a city in Bithynia, also another in Mesopotamia, Apamea Cybotus; also a city in Parthia. ⁽⁵⁾ Acts xvi.
⁽⁶⁾ Acts ii. ⁽⁷⁾ Phrygia Minor in Ptolemy is called Troas. ⁽⁸⁾ Acts xx.
⁽⁹⁾ Ibid. ii. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Isa. lxi. ⁽¹¹⁾ 1 Mac. xv.
⁽¹²⁾ Acts xvi. ⁽¹³⁾ Ibid. xx.

CITIES.

Scepsis	Phocæa.	Pergamos
Adramyttium. ¹	Smyrna. ³	Cuma.
Hierapolis. ²	Erythræ.	Ephesus. ⁹
Pitane	Laodicea. ⁴	Sardis. ¹⁰
Apollonis.	Carura. ⁵	Halicarnassus. ¹¹
Myrina.	Thyatira. ⁶	Miletus. ¹²
	Philadelphia. ⁷	

Solyman

Thus far reacheth the compass of Natolia; next follow :

COUNTRIES.

Lycia. ¹³	Pamphilia. ¹⁵	Armenia Minor.
Galatia, vel Gallogræcia. ¹⁴	Pisidia.	Cilicia.
Paphlagonia.	Cappadocia. ¹⁶	Lycaonia.

CITIES.

Colossæ. ¹	Perga. ⁵⁰	Leandis.
Patara. ¹⁸	Attalia. ²¹	Claudiopolis.
Pinara.	Aspendus.	Juliopolis.
Xanthus.	Phaselis. ²²	Tharsus. ²⁵
Andriace.	Trapesus.	Corycus. ²⁶
Myra. ¹⁹	Themiscyra.	Selinus, vel Trajanopolis.
Ancyra.	Comana Pontica.	Issus, vel Iajassa.
Gordium.	Amasia vel Eupatoria. ²³	Augusta. ²⁷
Germa.	Mazaca vel Cæsarea.	Iconium. ²⁸
Pessinus.	Nazianzum. ²⁴	Lystra. ²⁹
Amisus.	Comana Cappadocia	Derbe. ³⁰
Sinope.	Melitene.	Antiochia Pisidiæ. ³¹
Carambis.	Nicopolis.	

Syria comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities, as followeth :

COUNTRIES.

Syria. ³²	Phœnicia. ³⁵	Seleucis.
Palestina Judea.	Damascene.	Laodicene.
Chanaan.	Cœlesyria.	Apamene.
Samaria. ³³	Casiotis.	Idumæa. ³⁶
Galilæa. ³⁴	Commagene.	

CITIES.

Hierosolyma. ³⁷	Accaron. ⁴⁵	Bethania. ⁵²
Cæsarea Stratonis. ³⁸	Azotus. ⁴⁶	Lydda. ⁵³
Bethlehem. ³⁹	Ascalon. ⁴⁷	Nazareth. ⁵⁴
Emmaus. ⁴⁰	Gaza. ⁴⁸	Capernaum.
Jericho. ⁴¹	Bersabee. ⁴⁹	Cana. ⁵⁶
Joppe. ⁴² or Japheth. ⁴³	Antipatris. ⁵⁰	Tyrus. ⁵⁷
Tiberias. ⁴⁴	Lassaron. ⁵¹	Sydon.

(1) Acts xxvii.

(2) Col. iv.

(3) Apoc. ii.

(4) Ibid. iii.

(5) At Carura, a certain man with a company of harlots being there lodged, suddenly happened an earthquake in the city, wherein he, and all they were swallowed up. Pius II. Papa, lib. de Descriptione cap. 61.

(8) Apoc. ii.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid. iii.

(11) 1 Macc. xv.

(12) Acts xx.

(13) Acts xxvii.

(14) Ibid. xvi.

(15) Ibid. ii.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Col. i.

(18) Acts xxi.

(19) Ibid. xiii.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid. xiv.

(22) Macc. xv.

(23) Here Basilus Magnus was bishop.

(24) Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was bishop

(25) Acts xxii.

The country where St. Paul was born.

(26) Another Coricus is also in the isle of Crete

(27) Acts xxvii.

(28) Ibid. xiv.

(29) Acts xvi.

(30) Ibid. xiv.

(31) Ibid. xi.

(32) Ibid. xv.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Matt. iii.

(35) Acts xi.

(36) Mark iii.

(37) Acts i.

(38) Ibid. viii.

(39) Matt. ii.

(40) Mark i.

(41) Matt. xx.

(42) Josh. xv.

(43) Acts ix.

(44) John vi.

(45) Josh. xiii

(46) Acts viii.

(47) Judg. ii.

(48) Acts viii.

(49) Josh. xix.

Bersabee is a city in Jury, also another in Idumæa.

(50) Acts xxiii.

(51) Ibid. ix.

(52) Mark xi.

(53) Acts ix.

(54) Matt. iv.

(55) Matt. iv.

(56) John ii.

(57) Luke vi.

(58) Ibid.

Solyman.

CITIES.

Ptolemais. ¹	Antiochia, sub Tauro.	Paradisus
Cæsarea Philippi. ²	Alexandria apud Issum.	Jabruda.
Damascus. ³	Nicopolis. ⁶	Nazamma.
Philadelphia. ⁴	Gephyra.	Apamea.
Buthis, vel Pella.	Gindarus.	Besamma, vel Bersabee.
Antiochia apud Orontem,	Seleucia. ⁷	Euleusa.
vel Theophilis. ⁵	Imma.	Massa.
Samosata.	Laodicea. ⁸	

Thus far reacheth the compass of Syria.

Asia Minor.

COUNTRIES.

Arabia. ⁹	Carra, or Charan, where	Sarmatia
Arabia Petræa, or Nabateen.	Abraham dwelt.	Colchis.
Arabia Felix.	Seleucia. ¹⁰	Iberia.
Arabia Deserta.	Mesopotamia.	Albania, and Armenia. ¹³
	Babylonia. ¹²	

CITIES.

Sabrea.	vel Hur Chaldæorum,	which is now called
Edessa, ¹⁴ which is now	where Abraham was	Sujas.
called Orpha, and in	born. ¹⁶	Phasis.
the story of Tobias	Patarve.	Nubium.
called Rages.	Azara.	Artanissa.
Byblus.	Gerasa. S. Georgius.	Armachtica.
Babylon, vel Baldach. ¹⁵	Sinda.	Getara, vel Gangara.
Orchoe, vel Urchoa,	Dioscurias vel Sebastopolis.	Chabala.

And thus far reacheth the compass of Asia Minor, with the countries and provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the Turks.

Islands belonging to Asia Minor.

The islands belonging to the regions of Asia Minor aforesaid, gotten by the Turk, are these :

Thynias, belonging to Bithynia.	Possidium to Æolis.	Carpathus to Doris
Tenedos to Troas.	Samos to Ionia. ¹⁹	Rhodus to Lycia. ²³
Chios to Lydia. ¹⁷	Trogyllium. ²⁰	Cyprus. ²⁴
Patmos. ¹⁸	Cnidus, to Doris. ²¹	Panchæa.
	Cos. ²²	

(1) Acts xxi.

(2) Matt. xvi.

(3) Gal. i.

(4) Apoc. i.

(5) Antiochia, apud Orontem, a chief city in Syria, where the disciples of Christ were first named Christians, Acts xi.

(6) Nicopolis, is a city also in Macedonia, mentioned in the epistle of Saint Paul to Titus, chap. iii.

(7) Seleucia, Acts xiii., is a city in Syria. Also another in Pamphylia, another in Cilicia, another in Pisidia, another in Coele-Syria, and in Mesopotamia another.

(8) Col. ii. In this Laodicea was the council kept, which is called Concilium Laodicense. There is another Laodicea in Lydia, near to Colossæ in Asia Minor. Colos. iv. 13. Laodicea also is the chief city in Phrygia Pacatiana, near to Galatia, Acts xviii. 1 Tim. vi.

(9) Gal. i. 4.

(10) Acts vii.

(11) Psalm lix.

(12) Dan. iii. Babylon in Chaldæa, where Nebuchadnezzar reigned. It was after destroyed, and translated by Seleucus Nicanor. Another is in Egypt called Alexyrus. In the country of Babylonia, is also a certain region appointed for philosophers and astronomers, called Chaldea. Jer. i.

(13) Gen. viii. Armenia Major is divided from Armenia Minor by the river Euphrates. This Armenia Major and Minor, this day be both under the Turks.

(14) In Edessa reigned King Abgarus, mentioned in Enseb. lib. i. cap. 15, to whom Christ wrote, promising to send unto him after his death.

(15) Acts vii.

(16) Gen. xi. 15.

(17) Acts xx.

(18) Apoc. i.

(19) Acts xx.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid. xxvii.

(22) Ibid. xxi.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Acts xi. This Cyprus king Richard I. did once subdue, fighting against the Saracens.

Æneas Sylvius, otherwise pope Pius II., in describing Asia Minor,¹ reciteth a certain fact of a worthy virgin; who at that time the Turks were besieging a certain town in Lesbos, and had cast down a great part of the walls, so that all the townsmen had given over, putting on man's harness, stepped forth into the breach, where not only she kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great sort. The citizens seeing the rare courage, and good success of the maiden, took to them again their hearts and harness, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slain. The rest being repulsed from the land, reculed into their ships; who being then pursued by a navy of Calisa, were worthily discomfited likewise upon the sea. And thus was the isle of Lesbos at that time by a poor virgin, that is by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak creature, preserved from the Turks.

Solyman.
A memorable fact of a virgin, in defence of her country.

Beside these regions and countries of Asia Minor above described, Sebastian Munster, in the fifth book of his *Cosmography*, declareth moreover, that the Turks and Sultans have under their subjection both Arabia, Persia, and also India Exterior, wherein is Calcutta. The which Persia, although it be under the Sophi, who is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultan, one of the Turkish and Mahometan religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christ's gospel, as may appear by the primitive church. And thus have you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all christened, do now serve under the Turk.

AFRICA.

After the description of Asia, let us next consider the parts and countries of Africa. Where, although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed by Prester John, who professeth Christ and his gospel; yet the Turk hath there also no little portion under his dominion, as these:

COUNTRIES.

Egypt.²
Regnum Tunis.

Africa Minor.
Cyrene.³

Mauritania

CITIES.

Alexandria.
Memphis.
Arsinœ.

Carthago.
Aphrodisium.

Hippo. Here Saint Augustine was bishop.

A description of the Countries and Cities in Europe, which were before christened, and now are subdued and subject to the Turk.

COUNTRIES.

Thracia.
Samothracia.⁴
Græcia.⁵
Macedonia.⁶
Thessalia.
Epirus.
Chaonia.
Thesprotia.

Amphilochia.
Ambracia.
Achaia.⁷
Attica.
Bœotia.
Phocis.
Ætolia.
Peloponnesus.

Corinthia.
Argia.
Laconia.
Messenia.
Elis.
Sicyonia.
Arcadia.

(1) Ex Æne. Sylv. lib. De Orbis Descrip. cap. 74. Et Seb. Munst. lib. 5.

(2) Matt. ii.

(3) Acts ii.

(4) Ibid. xvi.

(5) Ibid. xx.

(6) Rom. xv.

(7) Ibid.

Solyman.

CITIES.

Constantinople, or Bizantium.	Act'um.	Messena.
Pera.	Torone.	Tegea.
Adrianopolis	Alyzia.	Argos.
Trajanopolis	Anactorium.	Lacedæmon, or Sparta.*
Callipolis.	Argos. ⁷	Epidaurus.
Sestos.	Astacus.	Helice.
Apollonia.	Omphalum.	Lerna.
Thessalonica. ¹	Athenæ.	Leuctrum.
Philippi. ²	Megara.	Methone.
Demetrias.	Thebæ.	Mycenæ.
Neapolis. ³	Delphi.	Megalopolis.
Amphipolis. ⁴	Egris.	Nemæa.
Apollonia Mygdoniæ. ⁵	Calydon.	Nauplia.
Berrhæa. ⁶	Loeris.	Olympia.
Ambracia.	Naupactus.	Sicyon.
	Corinthus. ⁸	Ægyra.

Islands bordering about Greece,¹⁰ won likewise by the 'Turk from the Christians.

ISLANDS.

Eubœa, or Nigropontus.	Cyclades. ¹⁴	Ithaca.
Creta. ¹¹	Cephalenia.	Samos. ¹⁵
Salmone. ¹²	Zacynthus, or Zante.	Coreyra.
Clauda. ¹³	Lemnos.	Corsica. ¹⁶

CITIES.

Chalcis.	Geræstus.	Phœnice. ¹⁹
Carystus.	Pulchri Portus. ¹⁷	Salamis.
Cerinthus.	Lasæa. ¹⁸	Delos. ²⁰

After the Turk had subdued Thrace and Greece, proceeding further into Europe, he invaded other regions and cities, which also he added to his dominions ; as,

COUNTRIES.

Mœsia Superior. ²¹	Istria.	Servia.
Mœsia Inferior.	Bosnia.	Rascia.
Dalmatia. ²²	Bulgaria.	Moldavia.
Carinthia.	Wallachia.	Hungaria.
Corvatia.	Transylvania, or Septem	Austria.
Croatia.	Castra.	

CITIES.

Ratiaria, or Arezar.	Scupi	Tirista.
Nessus.	Sigindunum, or Singet.	Axium, or Chilia.
Ulpianum.	Triballorum (Escus.	Labacus, Metropolis.

(1) Acts xvii. (2) Ibid. xvi. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. xvii. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

(7) Argos, is a city in Amphilochia, and another also in Peloponnesus.

(8) Acts xvii. Of Corinth Strabo writeth, that more than a thousand virgins there in the temple of Venus, used yearly to be set out as common; and therefore not without cause Saint Paul writeth 'Eratis seortatores, idolatræ.' &c. 1 Cor. vi. (9) 2 Maec. v.

(10) The islands about Græcia ; see above.

(11) Acts xvii. In Creta St. Paul ordained Titus to be bishop and overseer.

(12) Acts xxvii. (13) Ibid. (14) Fifty three islands. (15) Acts xx.

(16) Corsica, is an island beyond Italy, which the Turk's navy joining with the French, did overcome, A.D. 1553.

(17) Acts xxvii. (18) Ibid. (19) Ibid. xvii. (20) 1 Macc. xv.

(21) The region of Mysia is divided into two parts ; whereof the one is in Asia, and is divided into Mysia Major, and Mysia Minor. The other is in Europe, and is divided into Mysia (or Mœsia) Superior, and Mysia Inferior.

(22) 1 Tim. iv.

CITIES.

Epidaurus, ¹ or Ragusa.	Tergovistus, or Tervis.	Novigrade.
Milea, or Mileda.	Huniad. ³	Varna. ⁵
Senia, or Segna.	Hermanstadt.	Buda, or Ofen.
Enona, or Nona.	Cronestat.	Alba regalis.
Jadera, or Zara.	Saltzburg.	Belgrade, or Taurunum.
Sebenico.	Alba Julia, or Wessen-	Strigonium, [or Gran.]
Stridon, where St. Jerome	burge.	Varadinum, [or Wara-
was born.	Gyula.	dein.] Major et Minor.
Quinque Ecclesiæ.	Semendria, or Zenderin.	Neapolis.
Jaitza, Metropolis of	Columbetz. ⁴	Pestum.
Bosnia. ²	Walpo.	

As I was writing hereof, a certain sound of lamentable news was brought unto us, how the Turk, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the emperor Maximilian out of Christendom, hath now of late, this present year 1566, got the town of Gyula about Transylvania, after they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the same most cruelly many thousands of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certainty, we will refer the story thereof to further information.

THE PROPHECIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES CONSIDERED,

Touching the coming up, and final Ruin and Destruction, of this wicked Kingdom of the Turks,

WITH THE REVELATIONS AND FORESHOWINGS ALSO OF OTHER AUTHORS CONCERNING THE SAME.

Forasmuch as you have hitherto sufficiently heard, to what quantity and largeness the dominion of the Turks hath increased, and do understand what cruel tyranny these wretched miscreants have and do daily practise most heinously wheresoever they come, against the servants and professors of Christ; it shall not be unprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophecies the Holy Spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned us before, of these heavy persecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the government and constitution of times, and states of monarchies and policies, fall not to us by blind chance, but be administered and allotted unto us from above; so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of kingdoms, such a terrible and general persecution of God's people almost through all Christendom, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and engendered by these Turks, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and

(1) Epidaurus, is a city in Illyria, and also another in Peloponnesus. These regions were in former times called by the name of Illyria or Illyricum, and afterward, by reason of certain Scythians coming thither, they were also called Scлавonia. Stephanus, king of Bosnia, and afterward of Rascia and Mœsia, was by subtle train allured to come and speak with Mahomet the Turk, who, being come, was taken and his skin flayed off.

(2) All this tract of Bulgaria, Wallachia, Servia, Rascia, and Moldavia, was wont to be called Dacia, but afterward was severed into divers lands and dominions. Bulgaria was won of Bajazet the Turk from the crown of Hungary, through the unprosperous war of Sigismund, at the field of Nicopolis, A.D. 1395. This Sigismund was the burner of John Huss, and the persecutor of his doctrine.

(3) Where Johannes Huniades was born.

(4) At Columbetz, Sigismund lost the field, fighting against the Turks.

(5) In Varna, a city in Rascia, Ladislaus, king of Hungary, fought with the Turk, and was overcome, A.D. 1444. Vide *supra*.

Prophecy. determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom doth best know. For the better evidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see, to our great comfort, how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the church, though they be sharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by man's working only, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

Two things to be considered in the time and order of the Old Testament.

And first to begin with the time of the Old Testament, let us seriously advise and ponder, not only the scriptures and prophecies therein contained, but also let us consider the whole state, order, and regiment of that people; the church, I mean, of the Israelites. For although the scriptures and prophets of the Old Testament were properly sent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done, or that should be done in that commonwealth, of which prophets John Baptist was the last and made an end, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, saying, the law and prophets be unto the time of John, &c.; yet, notwithstanding, the said people of that Old Testament bear a lively image and resemblance of the universal church which should follow, planted by the Son of God through the whole earth. So that as the prophets of God, speaking to them from the mouth and word of God, prophesied what should come to pass in that people; so, likewise, the whole course and history of those Israelites exemplifieth and beareth a propheticall image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the universal church of God dispersed through the world, planted in Christ Jesus his Son, according as Philip Melanethon, gravely gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his commentary upon the prophet Daniel.

As first the history of godly Abel, slain by wicked Cain, what doth it import or prophesy, but the condition of the people and servants of God, who commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The like may be said also of Isaac and Ishmael; of Jacob and Esau: of whom those two who were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world by the others who were rejected. Where, moreover, is to be noted concerning Ishmael, that of his stock, after the flesh, came the Saracens, whose sect the Turks do now profess and maintain. And as Ishmael had but twelve sons; so it were to be wished of God, that this Solyman who is the twelfth of the Turkish generation, may be the last. But of this, better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Furthermore, of the twelve tribes of Israel, the sacred history so reporteth,¹ that after they had a long season continued together by the space of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatry and transgression of their forefathers, ten tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the Gentiles a hundred and thirty years before the captivity of Babylon; so that but two tribes only remained free, and they also at last, after a hundred and thirty years, were captived under the Babylonians for a certain time. No otherwise hath it happened with the church of Christ almost in the universal world, of which church the greatest part, both in Asia, in Africa, and almost in

The twelve sons of Ishmael, and through his Ottoman Turks.

The old church of the Israelites and the public church of Christ.

Europe (where the holy apostles so laboured and travailed), we see Prophecy. now to be disparkled among the Turks, and their candlesticks removed: the Lord of his great grace reduce them again, Amen! So that of twelve parts of Christendom, which were once planted in Christ, scarce two parts remain clear, and they, how long they shall so continue, the Lord knoweth. And, albeit through the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the Turks, yet have they been so beaten by the pope, that they had been better almost to have been in the 'Turks' hands.

Again, after the said Israelites returned, being restored by Cyrus, let us consider well their story, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the time of the Maccabees; and we shall see a lively representation of these our days expressed in that propheticall people, according as St. Paul, writing of them, sheweth how all things happened to them in figures,¹ that is, the actions and doings of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what shall happen in the latter times of the whole church universally in Christ collected.

So the transmigration and deliverance again of those two tribes, declareth to us the affliction of Christ's church for sin; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Son's sake: as by manifold examples of the church hitherto may well appear. The church of the Jews a figure of Christ's.

Again, the continuance of the law first given by Moses, unto the destruction of the said people by Titus, amounteth to one thousand five hundred and sixty-four years; so we, counting the age of the New Testament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number.²

Likewise, in counting the years from their deliverance out of captivity to the end of their dissolution, we find five hundred and sixty-four years, during which years, as the church of the Jews was not governed under the authority of kings, but the high priests took all the power and authority to themselves; so we Christians, for the space especially of these latter five hundred and sixty-four years, what have we seen and felt, but only the jurisdiction and domination of the pope and high priests playing the 'Rex' in all countries, and ruling the whole? whereby, by the count of these years, it is to be thought the day of the Lord's coming not to be far off. Times of the old church, compared with the new. The high priests in the Jews' common-wealth, and our prelates compared.

Furthermore, in those latter years of the Jews' kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people sustained three hundred years together, but chiefly the last hundred and sixty-six years before the coming of Christ, by Antiochus and his fellows, the history of the Maccabees can report; wherein we have also notoriously to understand the miserable vexations and persecutions of christian churches, in these latter ends of the world, by Antichrist; for, by Antiochus, Antichrist no doubt is figured and represented. This Antiochus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes, his son, came of the stock of Seleuchus Nicanor; much like as Mahomet the Turk, and Solyman, came of the stock of Ottoman. Antiochus, a figure of Antichrist. His family, Family of the Turks.

Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that, like as of the said Seleucus issued twelve Syrian kings one after another, of that gene-

(1) 1 Cor. x.

(2) Ex Phi. Melanct. in Dan. cap. 9.

Prophecy. ration, who reigned over the Israelites with much severity and tyranny; so, of this devilish generation of Ottoman, have come twelve Turkish tyrants, whereof this Solyman is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the last! And as the two last Antiochi, being sons of the two brethren, did fight together for the kingdom, and in fighting were both slain, and shortly after the kingdom fell to the Romans; so the Lord grant, for Christ's sake, that the bloody brood of this old Solyman (who hath reigned now six and forty years) may so fight together, and perish in their own blood, that this bloody tyranny of theirs may come to a final end for ever. Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appear to such as be disposed to meditate more upon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to set before his eyes, in table-wise, the catalogue of both these Antichristian families, with the names and succession of the persons, first of the twelve Syrian kings, then of the twelve Ottomans, in like number and order.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE TURKS.

The Syrians.

	YEARS.
1. Seleucus reigned	33
2. Antiochus Soter	19
3. Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother-in-law, and his young brother	15
4. Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother; which two brethren warred one against the other	20
5. Antiochus Magnus	36
6. Seleucus Philopator	12
7. Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes	
8. Antiochus Eupator	
9. Demetrius, brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his cousin	
10. Demetrius Nicanor, whom Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, expulsed from his kingdom	
11. Antiochus Sidetes. These two last being brethren had two sons	
12. Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus Cyzicenus. These two, striving together for the kingdom, were both slain, and so, not long after, the kingdom of Syria came to the hands of Tigranes king of Armenia, and so being taken from him came to the Romans in the time of Pompey	

The Turks.

	YEARS.
1. Ottoman reigned	28
2. Orchan: he slew his two brethren	22
3. Amurath: he put out the eyes of Sauces, his own son	23
4. Bajazet: he slew Solyman, his brother	
5. Calpaine: the Greek stories make no mention of this Calpaine. The Latin stories say that Calpaine and Orchan were both one, and that he was slain by Mahomet his brother	6
6. Orchan, whom Moses his uncle did slay	
7. Mahomet the First: he slew Mustapha, his brother	11
8. Amurath the Second: he slew Mustapha, his brother	31
9. Mahomet the Second: he slew his two brethren, Turcine, an infant, and Calpaine	37
10. Bajazet the Second: he warred against his brother Demes, which Demes was afterwards poisoned by pope Alexander VI.	33
11. Selim: he poisoned Bajazet his father, and his two brethren Acomates and Korkûd, with all their children, his own cousins	7
12. Solyman: he slew Mustapha, his own son, and was also the death of Gianger, his second son	46

These two pestilent families and generations, rising out, doubtless, from the bottomless pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of succession they do not much differ, so in manner of their doings and wicked abominations, they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the people and church of Christ, both murderers and parricides of their own brethren and kindred, both blasphemers of God, and troublers of the whole world. Wherein we have all to learn and note, by the way, the terrible anger of Almighty God against the sin and wickedness of men.

Furthermore, whoso is disposed to consider and cast the course of times, and to mark how things be disposed by the marvellous operation of God's providence, shall find the times also of these two adversaries in much like sort to concur and agree. For, in considering with ourselves both the testaments and churches of God, the first of the Jews, the second of the Christians, look what time the Syrian kings had to rage then in Jerusalem, the same proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the Turks to murder the Christians; so that the one Antichrist may well represent and prefigure the other. For, as by the book of Maccabees may appear, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the hundred and ninety-first year before the Passion of our Saviour, and day of our redemption; so now casting the same number from this present year backward, we shall find it to be about the same year and time, when Bajazet, the fourth Turk after Ottoman, began to remove his imperial seat from Prusa in Bithynia to Adrianople in Europe, which is a city of Thrace; in which year and time began all the mischief in Europe, as is to be seen before, and this was A.D. 1375, unto which year if we add 191, it maketh 1566, according to the prophecy of the Apocalypse, chap. xx., where it is prophesied of Gog and Magog, that they shall compass about the tents of the saints, and the well-beloved city, by which well-beloved city is meant, no doubt, Europe; and this was in the year abovesaid, 1375. Although touching the precise points of years and times, it is not for us greatly to be exquisite therein; but yet where diligence, and studious meditation may help to knowledge, I would not wish negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his fellows.

Now what cruelty this Antiochus exercised against the people of God, it is manifest in the history of the Maccabees;¹ where we read that this Antiochus, in the eighth year of his reign, in his second coming to Jerusalem, first gave forth in commandment, that all the Jews should relinquish the law of Moses, and worship the idol of Jupiter Olympus, which he set up in the temple of Jerusalem. The books of Moses and of the prophets he burned. He set garrisons of soldiers to ward the idol. In the city of Jerusalem he caused the feasts and revels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickedness. Old men, women, and virgins, such as would not leave the law of Moses, with cruel torments he murdered. The mothers that would not circumcise their children, he slew. The children that were circumcised, he hanged up by the necks. The temple he spoiled and wasted. The altar of God, and the candlestick of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he cast out,

Prophecy.

The time of Antichrist examined.

One Antichrist prefigures another.

Furious cruelty of Antiochus against God's people.

(1) Mac. lib. i. cap. 1.

Prophcy. partly he carried away. Contrary to the law of God, he caused them to offer and to eat swine's flesh. Great murder and slaughter he made of the people, causing them either to leave their law, or to lose their lives. Among whom, besides many others, with cruel torments, he put to death a godly mother with her seven sons, sending his cruel proclamations through all the land, that whosoever kept the observances of the sabbath, and other rites of the law, and refused to condescend to his abominations, should be executed: by reason whereof the city of Jerusalem was left void and desolate of all good men, but there were a great number who were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, and became enemies unto their brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of misery could be showed in any place, which was not there seen. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus it is historied at large in the book of Maccabees;¹ and Daniel, prophesying² before of the same, declareth that the people of the Jews deserved no less for their sins and transgressions.

Antiochus, a figure of the Turk.

By consent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichrist, who was to follow in the latter end of the world, and is already come, and worketh what he can against us. Although, as St. John saith, there have been, and be many Antichrists, as parts and members of the body of Antichrist, who are forerunners, yet, to speak of the head and principal Antichrist, and great enemy of Christ's church, he is to come in the latter end of the world, at which time shall be such tribulation as never was seen before; whereby is meant, no doubt, the Turk, prefigured by this Antiochus.³ By this Antichrist I do also mean all such as, following the same doctrine of the Turks, think to be saved by their works and demerits, and not by their faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profession else soever they be; especially if they use the like force and violence for the same, as he doth, &c.

Name of Antichrist, what it containeth.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforesaid, and of the tribulations of the church in the latter times, both of the Jews' church, and also of the christian church to come, let us hear and consider the words of Daniel in the nineteenth, and also in his seventh chapter, prophesying of the same as followeth:

'He shall return, and fret against the holy covenant; so shall he do: he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall set up the abominable desolation. And such as wickedly break the covenant, shall flatter with him deceitfully; but the people that do know their God, shall prevail and prosper. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days.

'Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help, but many shall cleave unto them feignedly. And some of them of understanding shall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out: for there is a time appointed. And the king shall do what him listeth: he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself against all that is God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the wrath be accomplished; for the determination is made. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desires of women, nor care for any God; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his place shall he honour the god Mauzzim,

(1) 1 Mac. I.

(2) Dan. ix.

(3) Ex Lyra in Gloss. Ordln. c. 1 Mac.

and the god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things. *Prophecy.*

‘Thus shall he do in the holds of Mauzzim with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge; he shall increase his glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. And at the end of time shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass through. He shall enter also into the pleasant land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hands also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and of the Lybians, and of the black Moors where he shall pass. But the tidings out of the east and the north shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great wrath, to destroy and root out many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, in the glorious and holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.’

To this place of Daniel above prefixed, might also be added the prophecy of the said Daniel written in the seventh chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he, treating of his vision of four beasts (which signify the four monarchies), and speaking now of the fourth monarchy, hath these words:

‘After this, I saw in the visions by night, and behold the fourth beast was grim and horrible, and marvellous strong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under its feet; and it was unlike the other beasts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I considered the horns, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked away. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and it seemed more stout than the others. Which horn also, when I looked on, made battle with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Old Aged came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Highest, and till the appointed time was come, that the saints should have the kingdom.’

Thus have ye heard the plain words of Daniel; in which as he doth manifestly describe the coming of Antiochus, the great adversary, toward the latter end of the Jews; so by the same Antiochus is figured also to us the great adversary of Christ, who is the Turk.

Although some there be, notwithstanding, who, with great learning and judgment, do apply this place of Daniel above recited, not to the Turk, but rather to the pope; and that for six or seven special causes herein touched and noted.¹

The first is this: that the wicked transgressors of the covenant shall join with him deceitfully and hypocritically, who shall pollute the tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetual sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The second note is, that the prophet declareth, how the learned among the people shall teach many, and that they shall fall upon the sword, into fire and captivity, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tried, chosen, and made bright and pure, &c.; all which, say they, is not among the Turks to be seen, but only in the pope’s church; where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are slain and burned, and go to wrack, &c.: where, likewise, it followeth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false

(1) Vide Rodut. Gualt. de Antichristo.

Prophecy.

brethren should join unto them dissemblingly, &c. To this they allege, that the Christians have no such help against the Turk, whereunto such false brethren should join themselves, as is and hath been commonly seen among the Christians against the pope, from time to time, almost in all countries; as in Germany, by the Protestants and free cities; in England, in king Henry's time, by the lord Cromwell, and afterwards by king Edward, and now by queen Elizabeth; in Scotland by the godly nobility; in France, by the queen of Navarre and her son; and also by the prince of Conde and the worthy admiral, and his two brethren, and many others; in Flanders by those whom the regent called beggars; so as was in the time of the Maccabees, against Antiochus.

Helps of
the Chris-
tians
against
the pope.

Thirdly, that the king shall exalt himself above all that hath the name of God, and shall lift up his mouth to speak presumptuously against God.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the desires of women; which may seem to note how the pope's doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawful marriage in churchmen.

The fifth specialty which they apply to the pope, is that which followeth in the prophet, saying, "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any god; but, instead of him, shall set up his god Mauzzim, and shall worship him with silver and gold, and precious stone," &c., which they do apply to the pope, setting up his god of bread, and worshipping him with glistening golden ornaments, and most solemn service.

Mauzzim
the pope's
god.

Sixthly, it followeth, "and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall divide unto them lands and possessions," &c.; meaning that the pope, having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, shall endue his cardinals, prelates, his flattering doctores, with friars, monks, and priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great privileges, liberties, revenues, and possessions. And thus, I say, some there be who apply this prophecy of the seventh and eleventh chapters of Daniel, unto the bishop of Rome; whom, although I take to be an extreme persecutor of Christ's church, yet I judge rather those two chapters of Daniel concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great destroyer of the pleasant land and glorious holy mountain, to mean first Antiochus, and by him, secondly, to mean the great Antichrist, the Turk; who hath now set already the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, according to the prophecies of Daniel, as is above said.

The
seventh
and
eleventh
chapters
of Daniel,
mean the
great Anti-
christ,
the Turk.

Over and besides these prophecies above alleged, may be added also the prophecy of Ezekiel [chap. xxxix.], speaking of Gog and Magog, which, as it may be applied to the oppression of the Jews under the heathen multitude which stopped the building of the city, and under the Syrian kings, &c.; yet in the same also are expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christ's church in these latter times, under the Saracens and the Turks, &c.

Prophe-
cies of
the New
Testa-
ment.

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the prophecies of the New Testament, and mark the words of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians,¹ who then were christened, and now are either Turkish, or under the Turk, which words be these: "Be ye not

(1) 2 Thess. ii.

suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as sent from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked man be revealed, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, and is extolled above all power, and that which is called God; so that he shall sit in the temple of God, boasting himself to be God," &c. Although this defection and departing may have a double understanding, as well of the pope's sect (which is gone and departed from the free justification by faith only in Christ, through the promise of grace) as of the Turks; yet, leaving a while to speak of the pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the Turk, we will chiefly apply it to him, in whom so aptly it doth agree, that unless this great defection from faith in so many churches had happened by the Turk, it had been hard to understand the apostle's mind, which now, by the history of these Turks, is easy and evident to be known, considering what a ruin hath happened to the church of Christ by these miserable Turks; what empires, nations, kingdoms, countries, towns, and cities, be removed from the name and profession of Christ; how many thousands and infinite multitudes of christian men and children, in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe, are carried away from Christ's church to Mahomet's religion, some to serve for the Turk's guard among the Janizaries, some for soldiers, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight and war against the Christians; so that the most part of all the churches, planted once by the apostles, are now degenerated into Turks, only a small handful of Christians reserved yet in these west parts of Europe, of which small residue what shall also become shortly, except Christ himself do help, Christ only himself doth know. How great this defection spoken of by St. Paul hath been, thou mayest see, gentle reader, in the table above described.

Prophec.
Defection
in time of
Anti-
christ.
declared.

Notwithstanding this text of the holy apostle, as I said before, may be verified also with no less reason upon the bishop of Rome, than upon the Turk, both for that he is a man of sin, that is, his seat and city is a great maintainer of wickedness, and also for that he is an adversary, that is, contrary, in all his doings and proceedings, to Christ.

Thirdly, For that he sitteth in the temple of God, and so did not Mahomet.

Fourthly, Because he is an exalter of himself, and sitteth more like a god than a man in Rome, whereof see more in the book set forth in English, called, 'The Contestations of the Popes.'

Fifthly, For that he seduceth, and hath seduced, by his apostasy, the most part of all Christendom from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation, which is, not to be justified freely before God only by our faith in Christ his well-beloved Son (unto which faith the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our salvation only, and to no other thing), but hath taught us to work out our salvation by an infinite number of other things; insomuch that he bindeth the necessity of our salvation also to this, that we must believe, if we will be saved, and receive him to be the vicar of Christ on earth, &c.¹

(1) Ex. Bonifacii extravag. [Commun. lib. i. tit. 8. § 1.]

Prophecy.

But to return again to the Turks, among all the prophecies both of the Old Testament and of the New, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian kingdom of the Turks better than doth the Revelation of St. John, whose words let us weigh and consider, who, in the Apocalypse ix., where he speaketh of opening the seventh and last seal (which signifieth the last age of the world), and there, writing of the seven trumpets of the seven angels, at the sounding of the sixth angel saith:

'Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. And the four angels were loosed, which were ready both day, and hour, and month, and year, to slay the third part of men. And the number of horsemen were twenty thousand times ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision horses, and them that sat on them, having fiery habergeons, and of jacinth-stone, and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions, and out of their mouths went forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone: of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouth,' &c.

The
seventh
Seal ex-
pounded.

By the seventh seal, is meant the seventh and last age of the world, which last age of the world is from Christ to the judgment and resurrection of the dead.

By the seven angels with their seven trumpets, is signified the seven plagues that come in this seventh and last age of the world.

The sixth
trumpet.

By the sixth trumpet of the sixth angel, is meant the sixth plague coming last and next before the plague of the great judgment day, which sixth plague is here described to come by the east kings, that is, by the Turks, as followeth to be seen.

Loosing
of the
angels
upon the
river Eu-
phrates.

By loosing the angels who had rule of the great river Euphrates, is signified the letting out of the east kings, that is, the Turks, out of Scythia, Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, by whom the third part of Christendom shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to pass.

It followeth in the prophecy, "Their power shall be in their mouths, and in their tails. For their tails be like serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt," &c.; meaning that these Turks, with the words of their mouths, shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword to them that will not yield unto them; and in the end, when the Christians shall yield unto them, trusting to their promises, they, like serpents, shall deceive them in the end, and kill them; as appeareth by the story of the Turks above past.

The four
beasts
mean
four
monar-
chies.

The like prophecy also, after the like words and sense, is to be seen and read in Apocalypse xvi., where St. John, treating of seven cups filled with the wrath of the living God, given to the hands of seven angels by one of the four beasts (that is, in the time of one of the four monarchies, which was the monarchy of Rome), speaketh likewise of the sixth angel, who poured his vial of God's wrath upon the great river Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the kings of the east should be prepared, &c.

By the sixth angel with the sixth vial, is meant, as before, the last plague save one, that shall come upon the Christians. By the kings of the east are meant the Saracens, and twelve Ottoman Turks. By drying up the river Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turks to be prepared by the Lord's appointment, to come out of the east to the

west parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the text: "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, for they are the spirits of devils, doing wonders, to go unto the kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battle, against the day of the great God Omnipotent," &c. And it followeth shortly after, "And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon, that is, a trap or train of destruction." And immediately it followeth in the same place, "And the seventh angel poured out his vial in the air, and a mighty voice came from heaven, out of the throne, saying, 'factum est,' it is done, or finished," &c.: whereby it is to be understood, that toward the last consummation of the world, great force shall be seen, and a mighty army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the people and saints of the highest, and then cometh the consummation, with 'factum est,' &c.

Prophecy.
Kings of
the east,
dry up
Euphrates.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the Holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the sixth angel doth pour out his vial, doth exhort all the faithful, saying: "Behold, I come like a thief in the night; blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness," &c.

An exhortation
of the
Holy
Ghost to
the faithful.

Nicholas de Lyra, and Paul, bishop of Burgos, and Matthias Dorinke, writing upon Apocalypse xiii. and expounding the mystery of the second beast rising out of the earth, having the horns of a lamb, &c., do apply the same to Mahomet and the Turks, with a solemn declaration made upon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seem to have some appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that Mahomet and the Turk be pestilent and wicked enemies of Christ our Lord, and most bitter persecutors of his church; yet, as touching the proper and natural meaning of the apostle in that place, speaking of the false lamb, &c., if we consider well all the circumstances of that beast, and mark the consequence of the text, both of that which goeth before and followeth after, we must needs grant, that Nicholas de Lyra with his fellows, and with all such-like of the pope's school that follow that school, be deceived, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned lamb must necessarily be applied only to the bishop of Rome, and none other; which is to be proved by six principal causes or arguments:

The beast
having
horns like
the lamb,
means
the pope.

The first is, for that this beast is described to bear the horns of a lamb; by which lamb, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the horns of the lamb is signified the outward show or resemblance of Christ our Saviour; which show or resemblance can have no relation to Mahomet, for that he taketh himself to be above Christ, and Christ, as an excellent prophet of God sitting at his feet. Wherefore seeing Mahomet cometh neither as equal to Christ, nor as vicar under Christ, this prophecy cannot agree in him, but only in him who openly, in plain words, protesteth, that all Christ's lambs and sheep, not singularly, but universally through the whole world, are committed to him as vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter; and that all men must confess the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christ's

The first
reason
why.

Prophecy. sheep,¹ &c.: wherein it is easy to see where the pretended horns of the lamb do grow.

The
second
reason.

The second argument; "And he spake like the dragon," &c. A lamb's horns and the mouth of a dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any one person, either Turk or other (if we will judge truly) so lively, as in the bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himself the apostolical bishop, the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the servant of God's servants, &c.; thou seest in him the two horns of a lamb, and wouldst think him to be a lamb indeed, and such a one as would wash your feet for humility; but hear him speak, and you shall find him a dragon. See and read the epistle of pope Martin V., above-mentioned, charging, commanding, and threatening emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, with their shires, their counties, and the universities of their kingdoms; provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, and other places. See the answer of pope Urban II., and his message to king William Rufus. Behold the works and doings of pope Innocent against king John.

The pope
hath the
horns of
a lamb,
but the
mouth of
a dragon.

Note also the answer of another pope to the king of England, who, for the price of the king's head, would not grant unto him the investing of his bishops. Mark well the words and doings of pope Hildebrand against the emperor Henry IV.; also of pope Alexander III., treading upon the neck of Frederic Barbarossa, not like a lamb treading upon a dragon, but like a dragon treading upon a lamb; so that his own verse might be turned upon himself, "*Tanquam aspis et basiliscus super oviculam ambulans, et tanquam leo et draco conculcans agnum.*" Consider moreover the behaviour, manner, condition, and property of almost all the popes who have been these six hundred years, and what dragon or serpent could be more viperous than their own doings and words can speak and give testimony against themselves.

Third
reason.

It followeth, moreover, in the same prophecy of the Apocalypse for the third argument, "And he doth all the power of the first beast presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to honour the first beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured," &c.

The two
beasts in
the xliiij
chapter
of the
Apoca-
lypse.

In this prophecy two things are to be noted; first, what the first beast is, whose power the second beast doth execute. Secondly, what this second beast is, which so doth exercise its power in its sight. The first of these beasts described here in the Apocalypse, having seven heads and ten horns, must needs signify the city of Rome, which may easily be proved by two demonstrations. First, by the exposition of the same Apocalypse xvii., where is declared and described the said beast to stand on seven hills, and to contain ten kings, having the whole power of the dragon given; and also the same city to be named "The whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints:" all which properties joined together, can agree in no wise but only to the heathen empire of Rome, which city, at that time of writing these prophecies, had the government of the whole world. The second demonstration or evidence may be deduced out of the number

Descrip-
tion of
the city
and mon-
archy of
Rome.

(1) Ex Fouifac, VIII Extrav de Majorit. et Obed.

of the months assigned to this beast [Apoc. xiii.], for so it is written, that this beast had power to make, that is, to work his malice against Christ's people, forty-two months, which months, counted by sabbaths of years (that is, every month for seven years), make up the just number of those years in which the primitive church was under the terrible persecutions of the heathen emperors of Rome, as is afore specified.

Which thing thus standing, proved and confessed, that the first beast must needs signify the empire and city of Rome; then must it necessarily follow that the second beast, with the lamb's horns, must signify the bishop and pope of the same city of Rome. The reason hereof is evident and apparent by that which followeth in the prophecy,¹ where it is declared, that the second beast, having two horns of a lamb, received and exercised all the power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the said beast, which cannot be verified either in the Turk or in any other, but only in the pope of Rome, who, as you see, receiveth, usurpeth, and deriveth to himself all the power of that city and monarchy of Rome; insomuch that he saith, that when Constantine or Louis I. yielded unto him the rule and kingdom of that city, he gave him but his own, and that, which of right and duty belonged to him before.

Prophecy.
The beast with the two horns of the lamb.

The pope having all the rule and power of Rome.

And this authority or power over all the empire of Rome, he worketh not in Asia, nor in Constantinople as the Turk doth, but in the sight of the beast which gave him the power; that is, in the city of Rome itself, which is the first beast here in this prophecy of the Apocalypse described.

Fourthly, It followeth moreover, "And he causeth the earth and all the inhabitants therein, to worship and honour the first beast, which had a deadly wound, and was cured," &c. The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts of the same chapter, standeth upon the definition of the first beast: for, it being granted, as cannot be denied, that the first beast signifieth the city and empire of Rome, it must consequently follow, that the bishop (whom we call the pope) of the said city of Rome, must be understood by the second beast, forasmuch as neither Turk nor any other, but only the bishop of Rome, hath holden up the estimation and dignity of that city, which began to be in ruin and decay by the Vandals, Goths, Herulians, and Lombards, about A. D. 456; but afterwards by the bishop of Rome, the pristine state and honour of that city revived again, and flourished in as great veneration as ever it did before. And this it is which the Holy Ghost seemeth here to mean of the first beast, saying, "That he had a wound of the sword, and was cured;" for so it followeth.

Fourth reason.

Fifthly, "And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and lived. And it was given to him to give life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speak, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed; forcing all persons, both little and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads, and that none might buy or sell, but they which had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name," &c.

Fifth reason.

(1) Apoc. xiii.

(2) Ἐδώκεν τοῦ θηρίου. Apoc. xiii.

Prophecy.

Rome
almost
dead.
Called
Odacria.

By giving life to the image of the beast, and making it to speak, is to be presupposed that the beast was at a near point of death, and lay speechless before, insomuch that the city of Rome began to lose and change its name, and was called awhile Odacria, of Odacer, king of the Herulians, who, by dint of sword, surprised the Romans; and yet, notwithstanding, by means of this Roman prelate, the said city of Rome, which was then ready to give up the ghost, so recovered her majesty and strength again, that it is hard to say whether Rome did ever ruffle and rage in her tyranny before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and other emperors, more tragically than she hath done under the pope; or whether that Rome had all kings, queens, princes, dukes, lords, and all subjects more under obedience and subjection, when the emperors reigned, or now in the reign of the pope. And therefore it is said not without cause by the Holy Ghost, that it is given to him, "to give life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slain which will not worship the image of the beast,"¹ &c. As for example hereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of christian men, women, and children in all countries have been put to fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what havoc hath been made of christian blood about the pre-eminence and majority of the see of Rome. What churches and countries, both Greek and Latin, have been excommunicated? what kings have been deposed, and emperors stripped from their imperial seat? and all because they would not stoop and bend to the image of the beast, that is, to the majesty and title of Rome, advanced up so highly now by the bishop thereof, as it was never higher before in the reign of Nero or Dioclesian. Wherefore, taking the first beast to signify the empire of Rome, which cannot be denied, it is plain that the second beast must necessarily be applied to the pope, and not to the Turk, forasmuch as the Turk seeketh nothing less than the advancement of that empire, but rather striveth against it to pluck it down.

Life in
the image
of the
beast.
The
image of
Rome
speaketh
again as
cruelly as
ever it
did.

Sixth
reason.
Number
of the
name of
the beast
discuss-
ed, 666.

The sixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the beast, expressed by the Holy Ghost in the same prophecy, by the letters χ , ξ , ς , in which letters, although there lieth great darkness and difficulty to be understood, yet certain ancient Fathers who were disciples and hearers of those who heard St. John himself, as Irenæus and others, do expound the said letters, conjecturally, to contain the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man under this word $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$:² whereas else, no other name lightly of any person, either in Greek or Latin, will agree to the same, save only the foresaid name $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$; although some later writers, giving their conjectures upon the same, do find the name of Lateranus, in Hebrew letters, to answer to the same number. Some feign other names, as, $\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ or $\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\nu$, made words, which signify nothing, as Dielux, or Luduic, by Roman letters, &c. But of all names properly signifying any man, none cometh so near to the number of this mystery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ aforesaid. And thus much by the way and occasion of Nicholas de Lyra, Paul bishop of Burgos, Matthias Dorinke, the author of 'Fertalitium Fidei,' and other

Writers
deceived
in the
Ninth
chapter
of the
Apoc.

D 'Et faciet eos occidi qui non adoraverint imaginem bestiarum.' Apoc. xiii.

(2) χ = 60, ξ = 6, ς = 6. The number of these letters in Greek, maketh the full number of 666.

commentators more, of the same faction; who, writing upon this xiiith chapter of the Apocalypse, and not considering the circumstances thereof, both are deceived themselves, and deceive many others, applying that to the Turk, which cannot otherwise be verified, but only upon the pope, as may appear sufficiently by the premises. Not that I write this of any mood or malice, either to the city of Rome, or to the person of the bishop, as being God's creature; but being occasioned here to treat of the prophecies against the Turks, I would wish the readers not to be deceived, but rightly to understand the simple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof, being bolted out, it may be better known what prophecies directly make against these Turks; what otherwise.

In the which prophecies against the Turks, now to proceed, let us come to Apocalypse xx., wherein the holy Scripture seemeth plainly and directly to notify the said Turks. The words of the prophecy be these: "And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he took the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him up for a thousand years, and cast him into the pit, and sealed him up, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand years were expired: and, after that, he must be let loose for a little while," &c. And it followeth after, "And when the thousand years shall be complete, Satan shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battle; whose number is like to the sands of the sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tents of the saints, and the well-beloved cities," &c.

To the perfect understanding of this prophecy, three things are necessary to be known. First, what is meant by the binding up and loosing out of Satan as the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and year he was first chained up and sealed for a thousand years. Thirdly, at what year and time these thousand years did end, when he should be loosed out again for a little season. Which three points being well examined and marked, the prophecy may easily be understood directly to be meant of the Turk: albeit analogically, some part thereof may also be referred, not improperly, unto the pope, as is above notified.

Three things to be noted in the binding and loosing out of Satan.

First, by binding and loosing of Satan seemeth to be meant, the ceasing and staying of the cruel and horrible persecution of the heathen emperors of Rome against the true Christians, as is to be seen in the ten first persecutions in the primitive church above described in the former part of these Acts and Monuments; in which most bloody persecutions Satan the devil then raged without all measure, till the time it pleased Almighty God to stop this old serpent, and to tie him shorter. And thus have you to understand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thousand years; whereby is signified, that the persecution against the Christians, stirred up by the beast (that is, in the empire of Rome, through the instigation of Satan), shall not always continue, but shall break up after a certain time, and shall cease for a thousand years, &c.

What is meant by binding up of Satan.

Now at what time and year this persecution, that is, the fury and

Prophecy

Time of
binding
up Satan.

Forty-two
months
in the
Apoca-
lypse.

Supputa-
tion of
years be-
tween the
begin-
ning and
ceasing of
the
persecu-
tions in
the pri-
mitive
church.

The pope
the
second
beast
men-
tion-
ed.

Third
part of
the pro-
phesy.

Begin-
ning of
the
Turk's
progeny.

rage of Satan should cease, is also declared in the Apocalypse before ; where, in the xith and xiiith chapters, we read, that the beast afore-mentioned shall have power to work his malice and mischief the space of forty-two months, and no more ; and then that Satan should be locked up for a thousand years. The computation of which months, being counted by sabbaths of years (after the example of the sixty-nine weeks of Daniel, chapter xi.), it doth bring us to the just year and time, when that terrible persecution in the primitive church should end ; and so it did. For, give to every month a sabbath of years, that is, reckon every month for seven years, and that maketh two hundred and ninety-four years, which was the full time between the 18th year of Tiberius (under whom Christ suffered) and the death of Maxentius, the last persecutor of the primitive church in Europe, subdued by Constantine, as may appear by calculating the years, months, and days between the said year of the reign of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius : and so have you the supputation of the year and time when Satan was first bound up, after he had raged in the primitive church two and forty months ; which months, as is said, being counted by sabbaths of years, after the usual manner of the Scripture, amount to two hundred and ninety-four years ; and so much was the full time between the passion of our Lord, which was in the 18th year of Tiberius, unto the last year of Maxentius.

And here, by the way, cometh a note to be observed, that forasmuch as by the number of these forty-two months specified in the Apocalypse, the empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast ; therefore it must by like necessity follow, the bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two horns of the lamb, for that he only hath and doth cause the said empire of Rome to revive and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turk, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherefore, let every christian man be wise, and beware betimes how he taketh the mark of the beast, lest peradventure it follow upon him, that he drink of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned in the xivth chapter of the Apocalypse.¹

Thirdly, it remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this aforesaid prophecy, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year and time of Satan's binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his loosing out, which, by the testimony of Scripture, was proved to be a thousand years after his binding up ; and so rightly, according to the time appointed, it came to pass. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the passion of our Lord two hundred and ninety-four years, and add thereto a thousand years, it mounteth to one thousand two hundred and ninety-four ; which was the very year when Ottoman, the first Turk, began his reign ; which was the first spring and wellhead of all these woful calamities that the church of Christ hath felt, both in Asia, Africa, and Europe, almost these three hundred years past. For so we find in chronicles, that the kingdom of the Turks being first divided into four families, A. D. 1280, at length the family of Ottoman prevailed, and there-

(1) ' Et hic bibet de vino ira Dei ' Apo. xiv.

upon came these, whom we now call Turks; which was about the same time when pope Boniface VIII. was bishop of Rome. *Prophecy.*

Here by the way, this is again to be noted, that after the decree of transubstantiation was enacted in the council of Lateran by pope Innocent III., A.D. 1215, not long after, about A.D. 1260, were stirred up the power and arms of the Oguzians, and of Orthogrul, father of Ottoman, who, about A.D. 1294, began first to vex the Christians about Pontus and Bithynia; and so beginning his kingdom, A.D. 1300, reigned twenty-eight years, as is afore-mentioned.¹ *Time of transubstantiation, and of the Turks.*

Mention was made before of Ezekiel prophesying against Gog, whose words divers expositors do apply against the Turk, and are these: *Prophecy of Ezek. xxxviii.*

'Thou shalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horses, a great and a mighty army; and thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the land. Thou shalt be in the latter days, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog! before their eyes. Thus saith the Lord God, Art not thou he, of whom I have spoken in the old time by the hand of my servants the prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those days and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the same time also when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger; for in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken it. Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth shall tremble at my presence; the mountains shall be overthrown; the stars shall fall; and every man shall fall to the ground,' &c.

THE PROPHECIES OF METHODIUS, HILDEGARD, AND OTHERS, CONCERNING THE REIGN AND RUIN OF THE TURKS.

Unto these testimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us add also the prophetic revelations of Methodius, Hildegard, Sibylla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius of whom Jerome and Suidas make mention; who was bishop first of Olympos in Lycia, then of Tyre, and suffered martyrdom in the last persecution of the primitive church under Dioclesian; unto whom also Trithemius attributeth the book entitled 'De quatuor novissimis temporibus.' But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and allege the master of sentences, namely, in his second book and sixth distinction, which master of sentences followed more than a thousand years after Christ; besides certain other fabulous matters contained in the same book. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the church under Antichrist, and the reformation of religion, as seemeth rightly to come to pass, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraud the reader thereof, leaving the credit of the author to his arbitrement, to esteem and judge of him, as he seeth cause.² Among *Methodius' prophecies.*

(1) Ex Leonico Chalcondyla, lib. i.

(2) The prophecies of Methodius have not been fulfilled; a specimen of the strange effusions of Hildegard will be seen in vol. ii. p. 353. Justin laid great stress upon the few remaining works of the Sibyllæ, and some of the Christians of the early church were so prejudiced in their favour that it gave occasion to Celsus to stigmatize them with the name of "Sibyllists." The christian reader may peruse these prophecies with curiosity, but he will return, with firmer confidence, to that

Prophecy. divers other places of Methodius, prophesying of the latter time, these words do follow :

His prophecies concerning the Turks.

‘After the children of Ishmael had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude in the desert aforesaid, they came out of the wilderness of Araby, and entered into the habitable land, and fought with the kings of the Gentiles, who were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after seventy weeks and a half of their power, wherewith they have subdued all the kingdoms of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted; seeing themselves so to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things,’ &c.

And afterwards it followeth of the same matter in this sort :

The first state of time concerning the coming of the Saracens.

‘It shall come to pass that the said seed of Ishmael shall issue out and obtain the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entering of peace, from the land of Egypt unto Ethiopia; and from the flood Euphrates unto India; and from the river Tigris to the entering of Nabaot, the kingdom of Jonithus, the son of Noah; and from the North unto Rome and Illyricum, Egypt and Thessalonica and Albania, and so forth to the Euxine sea, which divideth the said kingdoms from Germany and France; and their yoke shall be double upon the necks of all nations and Gentiles; neither shall there be nation nor kingdom under heaven, which shall be able to stand against them in battle, until the number of eight weeks of years,’¹ &c.

Briefly, as in a gross sum, this shall suffice to admonish the reader touching the meaning and method of the prophecies of Methodius, which Methodius, first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christ’s church, thus maketh mention of the seed of Ishmael :

Christians plagued by them.

‘The seed of Ishmael, coming out of the parts and deserts of Araby, shall destroy,’ saith he, ‘and vanquish the whole earth, so that the Christians shall be given of God to the hands of the filthy barbarians, to be slain, polluted, and captived : Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt, the east parts, Asia, Spain, all Greece, France, Germany, Agathonia, Sicily, the Romans also, shall be slain and put to flight; also the islands of the seas shall be brought to desolation and captivity, and put to the sword. Which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure; the ransom of gold and silver and other exactionz intolerable; but especially the dwellers in Egypt and Syria shall be most in the affliction of those times. And Jerusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four winds which are under heaven; so that beasts also, and fowls, and fish in the water, and the waters of the sea, shall be to them obedient. Cities and towns, which were before full of people, shall be laid waste. Women with child shall be smitten; their children sticked; infants taken from their mothers, and cast in the streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slain, and thrown out to the beasts. Churches shall be spoiled; the priests destroyed; virgins abused, and men compelled to sell their children; and the coming of them shall be chastisement without mercy; and with them shall go these four plagues, captivity, destruction, perdition, and desolation.’

He addeth much more, which for brevity I overpass. “And this affliction,” saith he, “shall last eight weeks, or sabbaths of years;” which I take to signify eight hundred years, &c.

Secondly, After these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius upon the Christians, which he saith shall fall upon them for their

‘more sure word of prophecy,’ which came ‘not by the will of man,’ but in which ‘holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.’—Ep.

(1) Eight weeks of years, counting every week for a sabbath of years, that is, every day for a year, cometh to fifty-six years.

wicked abominations recited in the first and second chapters of St. Paul to the Romans; the said Methodius afterward, in this great distress of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declareth and speaketh of a certain king of the Greeks or Romans, who shall restore peace again to the Christians; in which peace they shall re-edify their cities and mansions again, the priests shall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations; and then shall the king of the Romans dwell in the city of Jerusalem a week or sabbath, and a half of times, &c.

Prophecy

Second state of the Christians, relieved of their plagues.

Thirdly, During the time of this peace the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and careless life; and then, according to the words of the apostle, saying, "When they shall say, Peace, peace, sudden destruction shall fall upon them:"

Third alteration, by the coming of the Turks.

'Then,' saith he, 'shall be opened the gates of the North, and the beastly people shall break in, which king Alexander the Great did close up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord God, that he would bind up that bestial and execrable people, lest with their filthy and detestable pollutions they should come out and pollute the Holy Land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commanded them to be inclosed within two mountains in the north parts, to the deepness of twelve cubits,' which signifieth, peradventure, twelve hundred years, 'so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means, they could get out, or any might come unto them, until the time of the Lord appointed, which is,' saith he, 'the latter times; and then, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, in the latter time of the consummation of the world, Gog and Magog, out from the North, shall come forth into the land of Israel, and shall work all this mischief against the Christians, above recited. And then,' saith Methodius, 'proceeding in his prophecies, 'shall the king of the Romans, after he hath reigned in Jerusalem a sabbath of times, and a half,' that is,' saith Methodius, 'ten years and a half, take the crown from his head,' and yield it up to the cross in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the cross with the crown shall be taken into heaven, which shall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.'

Fourthly, It followeth then, moreover, in the prophecies of Methodius, who declareth that when the week or sabbath and half week of times shall end, and when the king of Romans shall give up his crown in Jerusalem, and die:

'Then immediately shall Antichrist, the son of perdition, begin to appear, and be born in Jewry, of the tribe of Dan, whereof also came Judas Iscariot; and he shall be born,' saith Methodius, 'in Chorazin, and shall be bred in Bethsaida, and shall reign in Capernaum; to which three cities, Christ the Lord gave his third 'Væ.' And when great tribulation shall increase and multiply in the days of this Antichrist, and all lordship and dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithful and dear servants, Enoch and Elias, to reprove and detect the false, seducing, and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men; so that the people, seeing themselves falsely beguiled and seduced by this son of perdition, coming out of the temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leave and flee from him, and join themselves to the said two holy prophets: which son of perdition and Antichrist, seeing his proceedings so to be reprov'd, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two prophets of God. And then shall appear,' saith Methodius, 'the sign of the coming of the Son of Man; and he shall come in the clouds of heavenly glory, and shall destroy the enemy with the spirit of his mouth,' &c.

Destruction of Antichrist.

(1) The reign of christian kings in Jerusalem lasted eighty-eight years. A. D. 1187.

(2) By this resigning up the crown to the crucifix in Golgotha, is signified the ceasing of the Christians in Jerusalem till the coming of Christ. By this tribe of Dan, and the cities Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, are signified God's great malediction upon Antichrist.

Prophecy.

INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY.

To these prophecies and testimonies of Methodius, what credit is to be given, I leave it to the reader. But if the meaning of his prophecies go by such order of times as is set and disposed in his book, he seemeth to describe unto us four principal states and alterations of times to come.

The coming of the Saracens.

The first state and alteration is by Mahomet and the Saracens, who be the offspring and sons of Ishmael, coming out of Araby, in the time of Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 630, who, rebelling against Heraclius, increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians, both in Asia and Africa, and also in many places in Europe; especially in Spain and Italy.

The coming of the Turks.

The second state and alteration he prophesieth to come by the Turk, who, first coming out of the far parts of Scythia, that is, out of the north, first overcame the Saracens, subdued the Persians, and afterwards, joining together with the Saracens, conquered the kingdom of Jerusalem, about A.D. 1187; then subdued Syria and most part of Asia, &c. And these be they whom Methodius seemeth to mean, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed up of the Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great captain in the north, between two mountains the deepness of twelve cubits, lest that filthy corrupt nation should pollute the earth with their wickedness: whereby are meant these Turks, who coming out from the uttermost parts of the north, that is, out of Scythia, and the mountains of Caucasus, or else Imaus, were withholden and kept back of Almighty God, for Christ's cause, that they might not harm his church a long space, during the time of twelve hundred years: yea, and then the sins of the Christians so deserving, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the church; who, now joining together with the Saracens, have wrought, and daily do work, all these grievances against our christian brethren, as we see this day is come to pass: and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

Scythia
juxta Cau-
sasum.

See
Appendix.

The city of Jerusalem recovered by the Christians from the Saracens; possessed by them eighty-eight years; and won from them again by the Turks.

Moreover, in the mean space, between the reign of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius speaketh of the king of Romans, who should restore quietness to the church, and should reign in Jerusalem a sabbath of times, and half a sabbath; thereby seemeth to be understand the viage of christian princes out of the west parts of Europe, under Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, and his two brethren, and many other christian princes, with three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen; who, fighting against the Saracens, recovered again from them the city of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099, which city before had been in their possession the term of four hundred and ninety years.¹ After which victory got, first Godfrey, then Baldwin, his brother, and others after them, to the number of nine christian kings, reigned in Jerusalem the space of eighty-eight years; and after that, through the discord of the Christians not agreeing amongst themselves, both Jerusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and won of the Turks, which yet to this day they still keep. And this was A.D. 1187.

(1) *Ex Psalmo Jovis.*

About which year and time (as followeth in Methodius), when the city of Jerusalem shall be won of the Turks, then shall Antichrist begin to be born of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Judas Iscariot, and shall be born in Chorazin, and bred in Bethsaida, and reign in Capernaum: meaning that this Antichrist, or son of perdition, shall be full of God's malediction, noted by Judas Iscariot, and these three cities, against whom was spoken thrice 'Væ,' of the Lord.

Prophecy.
Coming
and
marks of
Anti-
christ de-
scribed.

And here is moreover to be noted, that Methodius saith, not that Antichrist shall be born among the Saracens or Turks, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Israel. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens, nor Turks, but shall spring up among the Christians, and, saith Methodius, "shall seem to come out of the temple, to deceive many," &c. Whereby the pope may seem, rather than the Saracen or the Turk, to be described, forasmuch as the pope, being elected, nourished, and reigning, in the midst of God's people at Rome, sitteth in the temple, and very place of Christ; and, no doubt, deceiveth many, &c.

And now, to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also, that which we read in Antoninus, part 3, that about this said present time, a certain bishop of Florence preached that Antichrist was then coming: but the pope commanded him to keep silence, and to speak no more thereof. Now, why the pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I refer it to those who list to muse more upon the matter. This is certain, that about this time here assigned by Methodius, came Peter the Lombard, Gratian, and pope Innocent III., the first authors and patrons of transubstantiation. At which time also began the first persecution by the church of Rome against the Albigenses or Waldenses, about Toulouse, Bourges, and Avignon, of whom seventeen thousand the same time were slain, by the pope's crossed soldiers, among whom friar Dominic was then the chiefest doer; about which time also was friar Francis, of which two came the two orders of begging friars: all which began much about one time together, A.D. 1215, which were nearly within twenty years after the kingdom of the Christians was taken of the Turks, according to the prophecy above-said.¹

*See
Appendix.*

Transub-
stantia-
tion.
The first
persecu-
tion.
Dominic.
Friar
Francis.

It followeth, moreover, in Methodius, "In his time, all lordship and domination shall cease and give over," &c.; the verity whereof we see now accomplished in the pope, for, where the pope with his double sword and triple crown doth come, there all secular power must give place; both emperors, kings, and princes must stoop.

The pope
exalting
himself
above
kings.

So king John yielded up his crown to Pandulph, the pope's legate, and was in his hands five days, A.D. 1213.

Notes of
Anti-
christ.

Childeric, the French king, had his crown taken from him, and given to Pepin, A.D. 752.

Henry IV., emperor, was forced to submit himself and his sceptre to pope Hildebrand, A.D. 1077.

Frederic Barbarossa, emperor, in St. Mark's church in Venice, was fain to lay down his neck under pope Alexander's feet, A.D. 1177; which Frederic also before was fain to hold the stirrup to pope Adrian, &c.

What should I speak of the ambassador of Venice, named Fran-

(1) Ex Antonin. part iii. tit. 19, cap. 1.

Prophecy. ciseo Dandolo? who, being sent to pope Clement V., was made to lie under the pope's table like a dog, and gather up the crumbs; mentioned in Sabellicus Enn. ix. lib. 7.

*See
Appendix.*

Henry VI., being emperor, had his diadem first set on with the feet of the pope, and afterwards struck off from his head with the pope's foot again.

And what shall I speak more hereof, when Charlemagne submitted himself so low as to kiss the feet of pope Leo, A.D. 800?

It followeth then in the prophecy of Methodius :

'In the tribulation of those days shall be sent from God two special prophets, Enoch and Elias, to reprove and disclose the fraudulent falsehood of Antichrist; and many, seeing his delusion, shall forsake him, and follow them: whereat Antichrist being grieved, shall kill them,' &c.

We never read yet, in any story, of any such two prophets to be sent either to the Saracens, or to the Turks: whereas, against the pope, we read John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two learned martyrs and prophets of God, to have been sent, and to have reprov'd and described the anatomy of Antichrist¹; and, at last, to have been burned for their labour. And what prophet can speak more plainly, either Enoch or Elias, than did Jerome of Prague, prophesying of the coming of Martin Luther, a hundred years after him? when the pope and his fellows should answer to God and to him. The time we see came just. Now let the pope with his fellows see, what answer they can make. It followeth further in Methodius, concluding his prophecy :

*Nearness
of the
Lord's
judg-
ment.*

'And then shall appear the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, with celestial glory,' &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable prophets, with many other thousands burned also since their time by the bishop of Rome, it is to be thought that the coming of Christ's judgment in the clouds, is not far off. "Veni cito Domine." Amen!

And thus much touching Methodius, of whose prophecies, how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the reader. For me it shall suffice simply to have recited his words, as I find them in his book contained; noting this by the way, that of this book of Methodius, 'De novissimis temporibus,' neither Jerome in his catalogue, nor Suidas, nor yet Aventinus, in the place where he treateth purposely of such prophecies, maketh any mention. As touching Hildegard and Briget, and others, whom the French call Bardi, for their songs and propheticall verses, sufficient hath been alleged, before out of Aventinus:² who, in his third book of Chronicles, writing of the testimonies of Hildegard, Briget, and the Bardi, seemeth to ground upon them, that the Turks, whether we will or not, shall have their imperial seat at Cologne; and I pray God that it come not to pass, that the Turk do give some attempt against England by the seas, before that he come to Cologne by land.³

*Prophecy
of Hilde-
gard and
Briget.*

*A caveat
to Eng-
land.*

Brevity causeth me to cut off many testimonies and revelations of these above said, or else I could here rehearse the propheticall words

(1) Vid. in primo Tom. operum Johan. Hus, de Anatomia. [Antichristi, pp. 423—463, Edit. 1715.]

(2) Aventin. lib. iii. Annalium.

(3) Ex Brigitta, lib. iv. c. 57.

of Briget, lib. iv. c. 57, concerning the city and church of Rome, of *Prophecy.*
which she saith thus :

‘It must be purged and scoured with three things, to wit, with sharp sword, *Prophe-*
with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that city, as one that *cies of*
removeth plants out of one place unto another : and, finally, that the city of *Briget.*
Rome shall sustain the sentence, as if a judge should command the skin to be
flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh, and the flesh to be cut in small
pieces, and the bones thereof to be broken; so that all the marrow may be
squeezed from the same,’ &c.

But for brevity I let Briget pass, and will declare something out *Prophe-*
of Erythrea Sibylla, in her book of prophecies found in St. George’s *cies of*
church in Venice; where she, prophesying many things of the birth *Erythrea*
of Christ under Augustus, and of the birth of John Baptist, and of *Sibylla,*
baptism, of the apostles, of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of *named*
Constantine, &c. hath these words :¹ *Eriphila.*

‘After the peaceable bull shall conclude all the climes of the world under
tribute, in those days a heavenly lamb shall come. And the days shall come,
when the power of the flowing stream shall be magnified in water, and the lion, *See*
the monarch, shall be converted to the lamb, which shall shine to all men, and *Addenda.*
subvert kingdoms.’

Moreover saith Sibylla :

‘In the latter age God shall be humbled, and the divine offspring shall be *Prophe-*
abased, and deity shall be joined with humanity, the lamb shall lie in hay, and *cies of*
God and man shall be bred up under a maiden’s attendance : signs and won- *Sibylla of*
ders shall go before amongst the circumcised,’ &c. Also, ‘An aged woman *Christ.*
shall conceive a child, having knowledge of things to come. The world shall
marvel at Boûtes ‘the star,’ which shall be a leader to his birth; he having
thirty-two feet, and six thumbs, shall choose to himself out of fishers and
abjects, the number of twelve, and one devil, not with sword, nor with battle,’ &c.

Afterwards thus it followeth, moreover, in Sibylla, saying :

‘The health of the lamb lying² shall be clothed with a few spoils of the lion.
Black shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the city of Æneas, and kings,
but in the hook of the fisher : In dejection and poverty he shall conquer riches,
and shall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he shall rise up,
and be changed, he shall live and reign, and all these things shall be consum-
mated, and regeneration or ‘new things’ be made : at last he shall judge both
good and evil,’ &c.

And thus much briefly collected out of Sibylla Erythrea, concern-
ing Christ our Lord.

Furthermore, touching the state and course of the church, and of
Antichrist, it followeth in the said Sibylla, saying :

‘Then shall four winged beasts³ rise up in testimony; they shall sound out
with trumpets the name of the lamb, sowing righteousness, and the law irre-
prehensible; against which law the beast shall gainstand, and the abomination
and froth of the dragon. But a marvellous star shall rise, having the image of
the four beasts, and shall be in a marvellous multitude; it shall bring light to
the Greeks, and shall illustrate the world. The lake of the fisher shall bring

(1) Ex Erythrea Sibylla in suo Nazilographo. i. Imperiali scripturâ.

(2) The lamb lying, that is, the church, without travail shall be maintained with some living or
possessions of the chief rulers.

(3) By these four beasts is meant the four monarchies of the world, that is, the multitude of all
the kingdom of the Gentiles, as in the Apocal. By the city of Æneas is meant Rome.

Prophecy. the name of the lamb with power into the city of Æneas, unto the end of the world or time.' 'Then in the city of Æneas the star joined shall loose such as were bound of the devil, and thereof he shall rejoice and glory, and glorious shall be his end,' &c.

After this Sibylla writing, as it seemeth, of Antichrist, importeth these words :

Prophecy of Sibylla of Antichrist. 'And it shall come to pass, that an horrible beast shall come out of the east, whose roaring shall be heard to Africa, to the people of Carthage, which hath seven heads, and sceptres innumerable, feet six hundred and sixty-three.' He shall gainstand the lamb, to blaspheme his testament, increasing the waters of the dragon. The kings and princes of the world he shall burn in intolerable sweat, and they shall not diminish his feet. And then two stars, like to the first star, shall arise against the beast, and shall not prevail, till the abomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummated.'

And again, speaking of the same matter, he inferreth these words of the aforesaid two stars above mentioned :

'And towards the latter days two bright stars shall arise,² raising up men lying dead in their sins, being like to the first star, having the face of the four beasts, which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the dragon, testifying [or preaching] the name and law of the lamb, the destruction of abomination and judgment, and shall diminish his waters; but they shall be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise again in stronger force,' &c.

And it followeth moreover :

'After the abomination, then shall truth be revealed, and the lamb shall be known, to whom regions and countries shall submit their necks, and all earthly men shall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled under one discipline; and after this shall be but a small time,' &c.

And shortly after, the said Sibylla speaking of the latter judgment to come, declareth how all the abominations of sins shall come before the Lamb; and that terrible fire shall fall from heaven, which shall consume all earthly things created unto the top of heaven, &c.

And thus much out of Sibylla, touching her prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alleged by a certain catholic Romish writer, in his book entitled '*Onus Ecclesiæ*,' excerpted, as he saith, out of the library of St. George, in the city of Venice.

Philip Melanethon, in his preface upon '*Bartholomæus Georgievitz Peregrinus*,' writing of the origin and manners of the Turks, allegeth a certain prophecy of Hiltenus, mentioned hereafter, which foresaid that the Turks should bear rule in Italy and in Germany, A.D. 1600.

See Appendix.

Now it remaineth, in conclusion of these prophecies of the Turks, something to say of the Turks' own prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own kingdom, whose prophetic prognostication, being taken out of their own language, and their own books, I thought here to insert, as I find it alleged in the book of the aforesaid Bartholomæus Georgievitz, as followeth :

(1) The six hundred and sixty-three feet do mean the years of his reign.

(2) These two stars seem to mean Huss and Jerome, who being put to death by the pope, their doctrine rose again more strongly than before.

A Turkish Prophecy in the Persian Tongue, of the Reign and Ruin of the Turks. *Prophecy*

Patissahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler
iediy ladegh Gyaure kelesi esikmasse, on ikiyladegh onlaron begblig eder: eufi
iapar, baghi diker bahesai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldensora Hristianon
Kelesi esichar, ol Turchi gerestine tus chure. *See
Appendix.*

The same in Latin.

Imperator noster veniet, ethnici principis¹ regnum capiet, rubrum quoque
pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum usque annum
Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, usque ad duodecimum annum eis domi-
nabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus munit, liberos
procreabit, et post duodecimum annum apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui
Turcam quaque versum in fugam aget.

The same in English.

Our emperor shall come; he shall get the kingdom of the Gentiles' prince;
also he shall take the red apple, and shall bring it under his subjection: and if
the sword of the Christians shall not rise unto the seventh year, he shall have domi-
nion over them unto the twelfth year. He shall build houses, plant vineyards, shall
hedge about his orchards, shall procreate children; and after the twelfth year shall
appear the sword of the Christians, which shall put the Turk to flight every where.

Those who make declaration of this Turkish prophecy, do expound
this twelfth year to signify the twelfth year after the winning of Con-
stantinople; which Constantinople, say they, is meant by the red
apple: and after that twelfth year, say they, shall rise the sword of
the Christians, &c. And this prophecy, being written and translated
out of the Persian tongue, with this exposition upon the same, is to
be found in the book of Bartholomæus Georgievitz. Albeit, concern-
ing the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true, which is there
spoken of the twelfth year after the winning of Constantinople, being
now one hundred years since the winning thereof. *Exposi-
tion of the
Turk's
prophecy*

Wherefore it may rather seem probable, that by the seventh and
twelfth years of the Turks, this to be the meaning; that if the seventh
of the Ottoman Turks do escape the sword of the Christians, they
shall continue, build, and plant, &c., until the twelfth Turk, who is
this Solyman; and then, after that, shall rise the Christian's sword,
which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all quarters.
And this exposition may seem to accord with the place of Genesis
xxv.; wherein is written of Ishmael, that he had twelve sons, and no
more: so, that this Solyman, being the twelfth Turk after Ottoman,
may (by the grace of Christ) be the last; whom we heard credibly to
be reported, at the printing hereof,² to be dead. But, howsoever
this prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their own oracles, that at
length they shall be overcome by the Christians. *Another
exposi-
tion.*

A Table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the Story above prefixed,

A. D. 632. The kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, began after the death
of Mahomet, the first ringleader of the mischief; which Saracens, reigning in *SARACENS
begin.*

(1) By the prince of the Gentiles, the Turks do here mean the kingdoms and dominions of the
Christians, whom they call Gentiles, because they are not circumcised after their manner.

(2) Solyman died in 1566. The Second Edition of the Acts and Monuments was printed in
London in 1570, at which period the above report of Solyman's death arrived.—Ed.

Prophecy. Babylon over Persia and Asia, continued about one hundred and ninety-eight years.

A. D. 667. Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens. These Saracens, after they had subdued Ormisdas king of Persia, set up to themselves a new kingdom, calling their chief prince Caliph, which signifieth a general lord; and under him Seriphes, that is an under prince; and again, under him their Soldan, who is a ruler or captain; under which soldans all the provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space above said, of one hundred and ninety-eight years.

The Egyptian Saracens, or Sultans.

A. D. 703. The Egyptians being weary of their subjection under the Romans, called for help of the Saracen caliph; and so, casting off the Romans, submitted themselves to the law of the Saracens, and had also their caliph, and their Babylon called Cairo, where their caliphs continued unto Saraco or Syracinus, four hundred and forty-seven years.

The Saracens' kingdom ceaseth.

A. D. 810. Mauginet, or Muchumet, the chief sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbraell, the sultan of Babylon, sent for the aid of the Turks out of Scythia; by whom when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turks shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their country within the space of twenty years.

A. D. 830. The Saracens, being expelled out of Asia by the Turks, wandered about Africa, Spain, and Italy, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.

The Turk's kingdom beginneth.

A. D. 830. The Turks, after they had expelled the Saracens out of Asia, began to reign in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia; and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the Tartarians, the space of one hundred and ninety-two years.

A. D. 1009. The Turks won the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens; which city the sultan of Egypt won again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of Godfred.

A. D. 1051. The first king of the Turks, called Zадuke, began to reign in Asia, and joined league with the caliph of Egypt, and there reigned till the conquest of Godfred and the Christians the space of forty-six years.

A. D. 1078. Solymán, nephew to Aspasalem, the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Tarquinia, subdued Cappadocia, which hath continued now, since, the space of five hundred years.

A. D. 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, a christian prince, taking his viage into Asia with seven hundred thousand christian soldiers, first got the city of Nice against the sultan of the Turks; then Lycaonia, Silicia, Syria; afterwards Mesopotamia, and Comagena: then Antioch, A. D. 1098, and the next year recovered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they, a little before, had won from the Turks, as is aforesaid. After this Godfrey succeeded eight christian kings, who kept the kingdom of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turks and Saracens, the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1100. The Georgians, who be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquished the Turks out of the kingdom of Persia, after they had cut their king in pieces: whereby the Turks, flying to Cappadocia, there remained under Solymán, and joined themselves to the soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia Minor, called now Tarquinia.

A. D. 1170. When Almeric, the seventh king of Jerusalem after Godfrey, had overcome the caliph or sultan of Egypt, the sultan being overcome called for the help of Saracon, the sultan of Syria. This Saracon, after he had expelled the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the sultan of Egypt, and vanquishing him, took to himself the kingdom of Egypt: which kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the Tartarians and the Mamalukes about the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1187. Saladin, the nephew of Saracon the sultan of Egypt, perceiving the dissension among the christian states of Palestine, got Antioch, where he slew Raymund the prince with his own hands: then he got Tiberias. From thence he went to Acre, where he took Guido king of Jerusalem, and the master of the Templars, prisoners; for whose ransom the Turk had Asealon yielded up to him by the Christians. That done, he subdued Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of eighty-eight years.

A. D. 1189. Frederic the emperor, Philip the French king, and Richard king of England, made their viage into Asia, where Frederic, washing in a river in Cilicia, died. In this viage, at the siege of Acre, Saladine won the field of our men, of whom two thousand were slain in the chase. Achre at length was got by the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed, had the pope's sending out against the Turks. Prophecy.

A. D. 1215. There was another council holden at Rome by pope Innocent III., where was enacted a new article of our faith, for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and blood of our Saviour. In this council also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom, to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of dukes, lords, knights, bishops, and prelates, that, if God's blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India. Transubstantiation.

A. D. 1219. The Christians after eighteen months' siege, got a certain town in Egypt, called Damietta, or Heliopolis, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterwards, as the christian army of the pope's sending went about to besiege the city of Cairo, or Babylon, the sultan, through his subtle train, so entrapped and inclosed them within the danger of the Nile, that they were constrained to render again the city of Damietta, with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the soldan's hand; and glad so with their lives to pass forward to Tyre. A. D. 1221.

In the mean time the Egyptian Turk caused the city of Jerusalem to be razed, that it should serve for no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albert Frederic II., emperor, was not unfruitfully there occupied; and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bishop of Rome against him; whereby he was enforced to take truce with the sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last city of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolemais, or Acre, was also taken from them by the sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia.

A. D. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of Asia by the sultans and Turks, yet the said Turks and sultans did not long enjoy their victory. For eftsoons the Lord stirred up against them the Tartarians, who, breaking into Asia by the ports of the Caspian, subdued divers parts of Asia, namely about Camana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians, as they had got many captives in their wars, so for gain used to ship them over customably to Alexandria in Egypt, to be sold; which servants and captives al Melech al Saleh, the great sultan, was glad to buy, to serve him in his wars. Which captives and servants after they had continued a certain space in Egypt, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said al Melech al Saleh, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and kingdom of the sultan. And thus ceased the stock of Saracon and Saladine aforementioned, which continued in Egypt about the space, as is said, of one hundred years. Tartarians
Saladine's stock in Egypt
ceaseth.

A. D. 1240. After the death of al Melech al Saleh, the army of these fore-said rascals and captives set up to themselves a king of their own company, whom they called al Turkoman: who, to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy christian men's children, taken young from their parents, and the mother's lap; whom they used so to bring up, as to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahomet's law, and afterwards to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called Mamalukes: among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be king but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made knights or horsemen, but only the children of Christians who should deny Christ before, called Mamalukes. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither Saracens nor Jews should be admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not Mama- lukes in Egypt.

Prophecy. descend to the children and offspring of these Mamalukes. Also that the succession of the crown should not descend to the children of the aforesaid sultans, but should go by voice and election.

The Tartarians with al Turkoman their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia Minor, from the Turks, and within two years after, prevailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdom; and so continued these Mamalukes reigning over Egypt and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tumân Bey their last king, who was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Selim the Turk, father to this Solymán, as in his history is declared. These Mamalukes continued the space of two hundred and sixty years.

A. D. 1245. These Tartarians, ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperial city of the Turks.

A. D. 1289. The soldan of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians Tripolis, Tyre, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.

A. D. 1291. Lastly, Ptolemais, which also is called Acre, was surprised by the said soldan, rased, and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (who were not many left) were slain. And this was the last city which the Christians had in Asia; so that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian soldans, and the Tartarians, reigned and ranged over the most part of Asia above the Turks, till the reign of Ottoman the great Turk, about the space of eighty years.

And thus have ye the whole discourse of the Turkish story, with their names, countries, towns, dominions; also with their times, continuance, interruptions, and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished: which, otherwise, in most authors and writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the Saracens, Turks, Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, Mamalukes, or Janizaries; what is their Caliph, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Bassa; in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which, in this present Table, manifestly to thine eye may appear.

Why the
pope can-
not pre-
vail
against
the
Turks.

Whercin this thou hast moreover, gentle reader! to consider (which is worthy the noting), how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turk's reign, hath not ceased from time to time continually calling upon christian princes and subjects to take the cross, and to war against the Turks; whereupon so many great viages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many battles fought against the Turk and Soldan for winning the holy cross; and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord: insomuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in Asia, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in Europe against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the bishop's doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and as the gospel saith, "He that hath eyes to see, let him see." This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men up to that business; so on the princes' behalf, there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or habiliement of war; only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked! The reason and cause whereof I would it were as easy to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man, beholding the life of

us Christians, will greatly marvel, why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turks! And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this aforesaid: which, to make plain and evident, in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere doctrine of christian faith, delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the church of Rome; or, if the bishop of Rome would yet reclaim his impure idolatry and profanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of God's grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition, and also soon would, or yet will, bring down the pride of that proud Holofernes. But otherwise, if the bishop of Rome will not gently give place to the mild voice of God's word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the Turk, whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turk and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of God's testament shall fructify and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which becometh already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckily forward, as in most places.

Prophecy.
God of-
fended
with
idolatry
and
wrong
faith of
the Chris-
tians.

A Prayer against the Turks.

O eternal Lord God! Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; Creator and disposer of all things; just, gracious, and wise only; in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate ourselves, desiring thine Omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor creatures and servants: relieve thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine only-begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name, so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and profane inventions, which are beside him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant, we beseech thee, to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed. Reform thy church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we, seeing our own weakness, may put off ourselves, and put on him, without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy church again the decayed faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of christian life; and forgive our wretched idolatry, and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked manifold ways thy deserved indignation against us. For our hearts have been full of idols, our temples full of images, our ways full of hypocrisy: thy sacraments profaned, and thy religion turned to superstition: because the lantern of thy word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like sons, not of Sarah, but of Hagar, and therefore these Turkish Hagarenes have risen up against us. Many hard and strait ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that assuageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in barks of our own building, but have not kept within the ark only of thy promise; and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed temple; and therefore we have not been heard. We have ploughed and tilled, but without thy heifer; and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish

Gal. iv. 7.

Wisd. v. 6.

Psa. cxix.
105.

Isa. lv. 2.

Gen. vi. 4.

Jud. xiv

18.

Joh. xxi.

6.

*Henry
VII.*

A. D.
1500
to
1506.

apace and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the groundwork is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise [Luke vi. 48], the east wind riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk, and have walked along, after the precepts and doctrines of men having a show of wisdom, but not as holding the head [Colos. i. 19], where lieth all our strength; and therefore these Philistine Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore, we beseech thee, O Lord, put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joint again: and finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to its perfect and natural head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other: for him only hast thou anointed and appointed; neither is there any other head, that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy well-beloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fulness; him only we confess and acknowledge; for whom and with whom, we beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus, our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their kingdom, that the kingdom of thy Son so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all; and that they who wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy salvation, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

In this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to understand, good reader! and behold, the image of a terrible Antichrist, evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, prophesied and declared to us before. Now, in comparing the Turk with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easy to see and judge, that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But, if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, who do only write the history, and the acts of them both. Wherefore, after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to re-enter again there, where we left off, in describing the domestical troubles and persecutions here at home under the bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babram in Norfolk above declared.

Troubles
in Eng-
land.

I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled 'Polychronicon,' (although I find not his name in the said chronicle expressed,) who suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was A. D. 1500. This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old papers and records of William Cary, citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ), wherein is thus testified, that on the 20th day of July, A. D. 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for a heretic; and the same person, on the 10th day, before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollards' tower, and so falling out of the

tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the aforesaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how, in the year above prefixed, which was A.D. 1499, in the time of one Persevel, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's cross they bare the faggots and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards afore the procession in Paul's; and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bare faggots on their necks afore the procession.

Henry
VII.

A. D.
1500
to
1506.

Divers
Kentish
men bear-
ing fag-
gots.

William Tylsworth, Martgr, burned at Amersham.

Forasmuch as the world is come now to such a morosity and peevish insensibility in these contentious and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one sycophant or another, who never will credit there, where they list not to like; neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to serve the humour wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore, to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who, by evidence of truth and witness, will be satisfied, that in the town of Amersham be yet alive both men and women, who can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet alive, witness to the same. Also another, named Agnes Wetherly, widow, being about the age of a hundred years, yet living and witness hereof; that in the days of king Henry VII. A. D. 1506, in Buckinghamshire, in the diocese of Lincoln (William Smith being bishop of the same diocese), one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley, about sixty years ago: at which time one Joan Clerk, being a married woman, who was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband John Clerk did penance at her father's burning, and bare a faggot; as did also these:

The
daughter
compelled
to set fire
to her
father.

Robert Bartlet.
Richard Bartlet.
John Bartlet.
Thomas Harding, and
his wife.
Henry Harding.
Richard Harding.
Robert Harding.

John Milsent, and his
wife.
William White.
John Mumble, and his
wife.
Richard Bennet.
Roger Bennet.
John Fip.

William Grinder.
Thomas Homes.
Yomand Dorman.
William Scrivener.
John Scrivener.
Thomas Chase.
John Cracher.

See
Appendix.

All these bare faggots, and afterwards were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance; as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns besides. And also divers of these men were afterwards burned in the cheek, as William Page, who at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the aforesaid Agnes Wetherly testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, were sixty and above, that were put to bear faggots for their penance; of whom divers were

Amers-
ham
men
bearing
faggots.

*Henry**VII.*

A.D.

1500

to

1506.

enjoined to bear and wear faggots, at Lincoln, the space of seven years' some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who, for his profession's sake, was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashridge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth, the space of seven years together.

Father
Roberts,
martyr.

It followeth, moreover, in the testimony of the aforementioned, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth (as the Amersham men do say), or the next day after (as recordeth the aforesaid Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Missenden; and at his burning there were above twenty persons, that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, were burned at Amersham Thomas Barnard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Littlepage, who is yet alive, compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Revere alias Reive, who after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived; as can testify divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and who bare faggots at the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post or stay, with towels, and their hands holden fast that they might not stir; and so the iron, being hot, was put to their cheeks: and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

Father
Reive,
martyr.

Men of
Amersham
burnt in
the cheek
for God's
word.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham,

WICKEDLY STRANGLED AND MARTYRED IN THE BISHOP'S PRISON
AT WOBURN, UNDER WILLIAM SMITH, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Chase
brought
before the
bishop.

Among these aforesaid, who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase of Amersham was one of them that was thus cruelly handled: which Thomas Chase by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour (whose virtuous doings do yet remain in memory), and who could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time at Woburn, in the county of Buckingham, and, as it is written in Acts xii., that wicked Herod did vex certain of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, &c., he proceeded further, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what answer this godly man, Thomas

Chase, made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy, for the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishop's prison, called 'Little Ease,' in the bishop's house at Woburn; which prison had not been ministered unto him, had not his answers been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms were daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms were nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatenings, floutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises [Matt. vii.]: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" and as followeth: "Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you;" &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministered unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollard's tower, about A. D. 1514, even so these blood-suppers most cruelly strangled and pressed to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, who most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1500
to
1506.Con-
demned
to the
bishop's
prison
called
'Little
Ease.'Worthy
alms of a
bishop.Perfect
patience
and constancy of
Chase.Chase
cruelly
murdered
in prison.

After these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murder withal: at last to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it by their ministers to be bruited abroad, that the aforesaid Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such, that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the women did declare that saw him dead; insomuch that they confessed that his blood-bulk was broken, by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy Catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but, to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland Wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: and thus commonly are innocent men laid up, by these clerkly clergymen. But He that is effectually true of himself hath promised, at one time or at another to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true word. "No secret," saith He, "is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be

Falsely
slandered
to hang
himself.God
bringeth
to light
the secret
murders
of the pa-
pists.

Henry VII. known clearly.¹ Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name there-for, for ever and ever, Amen!

A. D.
1500
to
1506.

Thomas Harding being one of this company thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the town of Amersham, for the truth of the gospel, after his abjuration and penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the fire, in the days of king Henry VIII., and under Dr. Longland then bishop of Lincoln, succeeding after cardinal Wolsey; of whose death and martyrdom we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order, when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

Thomas
Noris,
martyr.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Noris, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, A. D. 1507.

A. D. 1507.

Elizabeth
Sampson.

In the next year following, which was A. D. 1508, in the consistory of London, was convented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, upon certain articles, and especially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of images; as the image of our lady at Wilsdon, at Staines, at Crome, at Walsingham, and the image of St. Saviour of Bermondsey; and against the sacrament of the altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words: That our lady of Wilsdon was but a burnt tailed elf, and a burnt tailed stock; and if she might have holpen men and women who go to her on pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our lady of Wilsdon, or our lady of Crome; for the one is but a burnt tailed stock, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Saviour, 'Sim Saviour with kit lips;' and that she said she could make as good bread, as that which the priest occupied; and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time. For these and certain other articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and year above written.²

See
Addenda.

Laurence Ghest, Martyr.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend, the names, times, and persons of all them that have been slain by the rigour of the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Christ's cause, and of his sacraments; whose memory being registered in the book of life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the church, I thought it not unprofitable the suffering and martyrdom of them to be notified, who innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christ's quarrel.

Laurence
Ghest
two years
in prison
at Salis-
bury.

In the catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for matter of the sacrament, in the days of king Henry VII. He was of a comely and tall person, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for which the bishop and the close were the more loath to burn him, but

(1) Matt. x.; Luke xii.

(2) Ex Regist. Lond.

kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to expugn and persuade his mind by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his aforesaid seven children; at the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in others, yet in him, religion overcoming nature made his constancy to remain unmovable; in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation: and so, fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. As he was in burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise staid.

Henry VII.

A. D. 1508.

Would not be turned for wife nor children, but died a martyr.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russel, an aged man dwelling a late in Coleman-street, who was there present, the same time, at the burning of Laurence, and was also himself burned in the cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose daughter is yet living. The same is confirmed also by the testimony of one Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who, sojourning in the house of the said William Russel, heard him many times declare the same.

Witness to the story.

A notable Story of a faithful Woman burned in Chipping-Sudbury.

But amongst all the examples of them, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Chipping-Sudbury, about the same time, under the reign of king Henry VII.

The constancy of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example; which the living God grant they may. Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred, was, as is said, Chipping-Sudbury; the name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge; the name of the chancellor, who condemned her, was called doctor Whittington; the time of her burning was in the reign and time of king Henry VII., orderly therefore in this place and time, to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the aforesaid king's reign, so that it may appear to those who behold the opportunity of things, not to be without God's holy will and providence, that this aforesaid example should not lie hid and unremembered, but should come to light and knowledge; and that

Chancellor Whittington a persecutor.

*Henry
VII.*

A.D.
1508.

in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story, hitherto kept, requireth.

A faithful
christian
woman
burned.

After this godly woman and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched chancellor above named, doctor Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time being now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about (as the manner is at such times), was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the aforesaid doctor Whittington, the chancellor, there present to see the execution done. Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreprouable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the mean time, that as the catholic executioners were busy in slaying this silly lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town, slaying a bull; which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts, as the papists be in murdering Christians), as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smote, I know not: this is certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who, seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild (as it was no other like), gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was: against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns; and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through and through; and so killed him immediately: carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns, all the street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

Compari-
son
between
butchers,
and the
pope's
murder-
ing mini-
sters.

A rare
and spe-
cial ex-
ample of
the just
punish-
ment of
God upon
a persecu-
tor slain
by a bull.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing, many times, to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty?

Now, for the credit of this story, lest I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justify, therefore, to stop such cavilling mouths, I will discharge myself with authority, I trust, sufficient, that is, with the witness of him who both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webb: which Rowland, dwelling then in Chipping-Sudbury, had a son named Richard Webb, servant

Witness
to the
story.

sometime to master Latimer, who also, enduring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause: unto which Richard Webb, being now aged, then young, the aforesaid Rowland, his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresy (as he then called it), recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withal added the story of the bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testify. This Richard Webb is yet living, a witness of his own father's words and testimony, which I trust may satisfy all indifferent readers, except only such as think no truth to be believed, but that only which is in their portues.

*Henry
VII.
A. D.
1508.*

Verses touching the same, by Thomas Hatcher.

“ Mira legis, quicumque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, ut pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicumque potentia nota est,
Ut delinquentes ira severa premat.
Sæpe fit ut fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpe fit ut pœnis obruat ira novis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextræ subjecta potenti,
Qui ciet arbitrio bruta hominesque suo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
Evitans, fracto fune repente fugit.
Forte viam qua turba frequens confluerat ante,
Fœminea ut cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus iit, fertur qua confertissima turba;
Læsus at ex tanta solus et unus erat.
Solus et unus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,
Et misere parvum sparsit ovile Dei.
Et, quasi consulto ferretur, præterit omnes;
Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus.
Ille jacet, madido fœdatur sanguine corpus,
Eruta perque vias viscera sparsa jacent.
Quis non a Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri, non repetendo tremat?
Ultio terribiles comitatur justa procellas:
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.”

And thus much concerning the state of the church; wherein is to be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home, within ourselves, by the bishop of Rome and his retinue. Where also is to be noted, in the days and reign of this king Henry VII., how mightily the working of God's gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in England, as by these stories above past may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to treat of the state, likewise, of the commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the church. Where the church is quietly and moderately governed, and the flock of Christ defended by godly princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody wolves; the success of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue, through God's preservation, in prosperous rest and tran-

The state
of the
common-
wealth
common-
ly follow-
eth the
state of
the
church.

*Henry
VII.*

A.D.
1508.

Duty of
princes to
defend
their sub-
jects from
the slaugh-
ter of the
church of
Rome.

quillity. Contrariwise, where either the church of Christ through the negligence of princes, or the poor members of Christ, through their setting on, be persecuted and devoured, shortly after ensueth some just recompense of the Lord upon those princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the commonwealth, which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries far off, or else of our own country near at home.

And here, not to wander in our story farther than to France only, let us a little behold the example of king Charles VIII., who, living in this king's time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philip de Comines, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious prince, adorned with many special virtues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christ's church, neither did use his authority, nor did take his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the bishop and clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the counsel of most of his nobles) he took his journey into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lord's doing, to the intent he would have the church and clergy of Rome reformed by the prince's sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said Philip de Comines,¹ writing in this wise :

Prophecy
of Hiero-
me Sa-
vonarola.

'There was in the city of Florence, the same time, a Dominic friar, named Hieronymus Savonarola,' of whom mention was made before,² 'a man of a right godly and approved life; who in the said city of Florence preached and prophesied long before, that the French king should come with an army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisa, and the state of Florence should be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed, moreover, to be signified to him of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical state of the church must be redressed '*per vim armorum*,' i.e. 'by the sword or force of arms.' Many things also be prophesied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying, that the king with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender; for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass,' saith he, 'and that shortly, that some incommody or detriment should happen to the king: or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would show mercy unto him,' &c.

And this the said Hierome declared before to Philip de Comines, one of the king's counsellors, who was the writer of the story, and required him to signify the same unto the king; who so did, and he, moreover, himself coming to the presence of the king, declared no less.

See
appendix.

(1) *Ex Commentariis Phil. Cominei, De Bello Neapolitano, lib. iii.*

(2) See page 8 of this volume.—Ed.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king, being but easily accompanied, with a small power entered into Italy; where first he came to Asti, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Peter de Medici the duke, who had used great tyranny upon the subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the city wall, at the coming of the French king, fell down.

Henry
VII.
A.D.
1508.

Afterward, when the king was entered into the city, and the pope (who then took part with Alphonsus king of Naples against the French king) had immured himself within the Mount of Adrian, the wall of the castle fell down of itself; whereby when the king was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his captains, to invade the pope, and to depose him, and to reform the church of Rome (which he might then easily have done, as it had pleased him); yet all these occasions, offered so opportunely of God, moved not the king to do his duty, and to help the poor church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Naples, either the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at tennis, and that in the stinkingest place in all the castle, where he fell down and died within twelve hours, according to the forewarning of Hierome, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his son's death, and of his own, which was about A.D. 1498.¹

Like examples we have many here also in this our realm of England. So long as king John kept out of the realm the pope's authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles: but as soon as he brought the realm under tribute and subjection to that foreign bishop, God stirred up his nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Of all the kings of England from William the Conqueror to this king Henry VII., were none who either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than king Henry II., king Henry III., king Edward I., and king Edward III.; of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding Thomas Becket and pope Alexander III., is sufficiently before comprehended.

The second, who was son of king John, albeit through the wretchedness of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the pope's usurped jurisdiction out of the realm, yet his will was good: at least he so defended and provided for his subjects, that they took no great wrong at the pope's hands; who reigned one year longer than Augustus Cæsar,² which hath not commonly been seen in any prince.

The third, who was king Edward I., so vigilantly behaved himself for the public commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foreign power and hostility both of the Scots (then our enemies, now our friends), and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appear above.³ Furthermore of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the pope's subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the bishops, and

Kings of
England,
who were
blessed of
God with
long prosper-
ity, being
enemies
to the
bishops of
Rome

(1) Ex Philip. Cominæi De bello Neapolitano, lib. v.

(2) Augustus reigned fifty-nine years.

(3) See vol. ii. p. 579. — Ed.

Henry VII.

especially the archbishop Peckham, for standing with the pope, read before.¹

A.D. 1509.

Now as touching king Edward III., how little he regarded, how princely he with his nobles likewise resisted, the pope's reservations and provisions, how he bridled the archbishop John Stratford, and rejected the vain authority of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realm of France, read before.²

Difference between moderate princes, and those that were persecutors.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort; but, speaking of the duty of princes, I note and observe by examples of histories, that such princes as have most defended the church of Christ committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the bishop of Rome, have not lacked at God's hand great blessing and felicity: whereas contrariwise, they who either themselves have been persecutors of Christ's members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign tyranny and injuries, have lacked at God's hand that protection, which the others had, as may appear by king Edward II., Richard III., king Henry IV., king Henry V., king Henry VI., &c., who, because either negligently they have suffered, or cruelly caused, such persecuting laws to be made, and so much christian blood injuriously to be devoured; therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or, if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not half the time of the other kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the commonwealth doth commonly follow the state of the church, as ye heard before; so it had been to be wished, that this king Henry VII., being otherwise a prudent and temperate prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the pope's clergy so much to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions above mentioned may appear. Which king Henry VII., albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now reigned twenty-four years, yet notwithstanding here cometh the same thing to be noted whereof I spake before, that when the church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wrack through disorder and negligence, the state of the commonwealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of God's correction. But, howsoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the story: that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ above recited, when the persecution began now to be hot in the church, God called away the king, the same year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had reigned the term of twenty-four years; who, if he had adjoined a little more pitiful respect, in protecting Christ's poor members from the fire of the pope's tyranny, to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect, which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord!) by his posterity succeeding after him; of whom in the next volumes

Death of king Henry VII.
see
appendix.

(1) See vol. ii. p. 609.—Ed.

(2) See vol. ii. p. 688.—Ed.

following (Christ thereunto assisting us), we have to specify more at large.

Henry
VII.

A. D.
1509.

Among many other things incident in the reign of this king Henry VII., I have overpassed the history of certain godly persons persecuted in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, as we find them in the registers of the diocese recorded ; here following.

Country-
men per-
secuted.

In the year of our Lord 1485, March 9th, amongst divers and sundry other good men in Coventry, these nine hereunder named, were examined before John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in St. Michael's church, upon these articles following in order :

John Blomstone and eight others persecuted at Coventry.

First, John Blomstone was openly and publicly infamed, accused, reported, and appeached as follows :

That he was a very heretic, because he had preached, taught, holden, and affirmed, that the power attributed to St. Peter in the church of God by our Saviour Jesus Christ immediately, did not flit or pass from him, to remain with his successors.

The
power of
Peter
flitteth
not to his
successors.

Item, That there was as much virtue in a herb, as in the image of the Virgin Mary.

Item, That prayer and alms avail not the dead ; for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heaven or hell : whereupon he concludeth there is no purgatory.

Purga-
tory de-
nied.

Item, That it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or of the Tower of the city of Coventry : for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire-side in the kitchen, as in the aforesaid places, and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin, when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images ; because they be no more but dead stocks and stones.

Images
not to be
worship-
ped.

Item, That he said in English, with a frowning countenance, as it appeared : ' A vengeance on all such horson priests, for they have great envy that a poor man should get his living among them.'

Richard Hegham of the same city was accused, as under :

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold that a christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God.

Merits
condemn-
ed.

Item, That it was fondness to worship the images of our Lady of the Tower, in the aforesaid city, or of other saints ; for they are but stocks and stones.

Item, That if the image of our Lady of the Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Against
images.

Item, That it were better to deal money unto poor folks, than to offer to the image of Christ and other saints, which are but dead stocks and stones.

Robert Crowther of the same city was accused as follows :

That he was a heretic, because he did hold, that whoso receiveth the sacrament of the altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but bread and wine.

Item, That neither bishop, nor priests, nor curates of churches, have power in the market of penance to bind and loose.

Item, That pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of the Tower is foolishness : for it is but a stock or a stone.

Pilgrim-
age.

Henry VII.

John Smith was accused, as under :

A.D.
1509.

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English, if he might ; for all these false priests.

Item, That whoso believed as the church then did believe, believed ill : and that a man had need to frequent the schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

Item, That no priest hath power to assoil a man, in the market of penance, from his sins.

Roger Brown of the same city was also accused as follows :

Against
pilgrim-
age.

That he was a heretic, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hales, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would ask.

Item, That he held not up his hands, nor looked up, at the elevation of the encharist.

Item, That he promised one to show him certain books of heresy, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

Flesh in
Lent.

Item, That he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Against
purgatory
and con-
fession
curicular.

Item, If any man were not shriven in his whole life long, and at the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he should pass to joy without purgatory : and if he were confessed of any sin, and were enjoined only to say for penance one Pater-Noster, if he thought he should have any punishment in purgatory for that sin, he would never be confessed for any sin.

Item, Because he said all is lost that is given to priests.

Item, That there was no purgatory, that God would pardon all sins without confession and satisfaction.

Thomas Butler of the same city was likewise openly accused to this effect :

That he was a very heretic, because he did hold that there were but two ways, that is to say, to heaven and to hell.

Item, That no faithful man should abide any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ died for our sins.

Against
purga-
tory.
Merits.

Item, That there was no purgatory ; for every man immediately after death passeth either to heaven or hell.

Item, That whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

Item, That prayers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchase heaven.

John Falks was accused as follows :

Against
images.

That he was a very heretic, because he did affirm, That it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our Lady, saying, Her head shall be hoar ere I offer to her : What is it but a block ? If it could speak to me, I would give it an half-penny worth of ale.

Item, That when the priest carrieth to the sick the body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ ?

Item, That he did eat cow-milk upon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, That as concerning the sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest hath power to assoil any man from his sins, when he can not make one hair of his head.

Item, That the image of our Lady was but a stone or a block.¹

⁽¹⁾ It is heresy, to say a stone is a stone, and a block is a block !

Richard Hilman was accused, as under :

Henry VII.

That he was a very heretic, because he did say and maintain, That it was better to part with money to the poor, than to give tithes to priests, or to offer to the images of our Lady; and that it were better to offer to images made by God, than to the images of God painted.

A. D. 1509.

Item, That he had the Lord's Prayer and the salutation of the angel and the Creed in English, and another book did he see and had, which contained the epistles and gospels in English, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

Richard Hilman. Scripture in English.

Item, That no priest speaketh better in the pulpit than that book.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar is but bread, and that the priests make it to blind the people.

Item, That a priest, while he is at mass, is a priest; and after one mass done, till the beginning of another mass, he is no more than a lay-man, and hath no more power than a mere lay-man.

After they were enforced to recant, they were assoiled and put to penance.

In the year of our Lord 1488, the third of April, Margery Goyt, wife of James Goyt of Ashburn, was brought before the aforesaid John bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was there accused as follows :

That she said, that that which the priests lift over their heads at mass, was not the true and very body of Christ; for, if it were so, the priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do; for the Lord's body hath flesh and bones: so hath not that which the priests receive.

Against the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That priests buying forty cakes for a halfpenny, and showing them to the people, and saying, that of every of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought good here to insert, touching these aforesaid people of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adversaries be wont to object against us the newness of Christ's old and ancient religion. To the intent, therefore, they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these aforesaid persons, as is above-premised.

I should also in the same reign of king Henry VII. have introduced that story of Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus, earl of Mirandula, being but a young man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all sciences, and in all tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Araby, that coming to Rome booted and spurred, he set up ninety conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendom, whosoever would come against him; of which conclusions divers were touching the matter of the sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, privily and in corners certain of the pope's clergy, prelates, lawyers, and friars, by the pope appointed, consulted together to inquire upon his conclusions; whereupon they did articu-

Picus, earl of Mirandula.

Henry VII.
A.D. 1509. late against him for suspicion of heresy. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome privily circumvented and entangled this learned earl in their snares of heresy, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of thirty-two years, of such wit and towardness, as is hard to say whether Italy ever bred up a better. In his sickness Charles VIII. the French king, moved with the fame of his learning, came to visit him. The furniture of his books cost him seven thousand florins. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a cowl, to go about and preach; but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractation, which, if place do serve, we will not peradventure forget. With two popes, that is, with pope Innocent, and Alexander VI., he had much vexation.

*See
 A. J. endix.*

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth Book contained.

62 John Stafford held the see for 8 years.	66 Thomas Langton ¹ held the see for 0 years.
63 John Kempe 3 „	67 Henry Dene 2 „
64 Thomas Bouchier 33 „	68 William Warham . . . 28 „
65 John Morton 14 „	

A BRIEF NOTE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS ORDAINED BY ANCIENT KINGS IN THIS REALM.

Forasmuch as it is, and hath been a persuasion long engendered in the heads of many, that the bishops of Rome be the universal heads of the whole militant church of Christ in earth, and have always so continued from the beginning of the primitive time; and that no prince, king, nor emperor, in his own realm, hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and laws ecclesiastical, but only the said bishops of Rome: to refell and remove that opinion out of the heads of all Englishmen, as a thing most false, and contrary both to histories of time, and examples of ancient kings and governors of this realm, I thought to fill up a little end of paper here left, with some such brief rehearsal of laws devised and appointed by kings and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the church, and causes ecclesiastical; to the intent that all the world may see that the government of Christ's church here in earth under Christ hath not depended only of the pope from ancient time, but hath been rather directed by such kings and princes as God here had placed under him, to govern the people of this realm of England: as followeth here in this present table to be noted.

A BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS, BY SUNDRY KINGS OF THIS REALM ORDAINED, FOR GOVERN- MENT OF THE CHURCH, BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Inas, or Ina.

I. First, king Inas, who reigned in this land A. D. 712, commanded that ministers should frame their conversation of life according to the form in laws prescribed.

(1) This Thomas Langton was elected archbishop, but died before he was confirmed.*

II. That infants should be baptized within thirty days.

III. Item, That no man, lay or spiritual, free or bond, should labour on the Sunday.

IV. Item, He established immunity of churches, and sanctuary. Also he took order for the true payment of church duties, and of the first-fruits of all that was sown, to be paid at the day of St. Martin.

Henry VII.

A. D.
1509.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Alured, or Alfred.

I. King Alfred, after he had ordained divers judicial punishments for violating the holy precepts of God commanded by Moses, he also confirmed and enlarged the privilege of sanctuary: he laid double pain upon such as committed offences in the solemnities of certain feasts; also against them that committed sacrilege.

II. He made a law against priests committing murder.

III. Also he made a law against whoredom, adultery, and fornication.

IV. He appointed days of fasting, and ceasing from labour.

V. Item, He set order for making and keeping vows.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edward the Elder, and Gylthrum the Dane King.

I. First, They agreed upon the sanctuary; they forbade gentility and paganism; they laid punishment upon the clergy committing theft, perjury, or murder, fornication, or any capital crime.

II. They punished priests, that pretermitted their office in pronouncing festival, or fasting days.

III. They made a law against all labour, buying, and selling, upon the sabbath; also for keeping of feasts.

Item, For no execution to be done on the Sunday.

Also against witches and sorcerers, &c.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Athelstan.

I. King Athelstan, who reigned A.D. 925, commanded that every village of his own should give a monthly corody¹ to a poor person.

II. That fifty Psalms should be sung daily in the church, for the king, &c.

III. He also ordained punishment for witches and sorcerers, &c

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edmund.

I. After king Athelstan followed king Edmund about A.D. 941, who established and provided laws against the unchaste living of churchmen.

II. Item, He made laws concerning tithes, with first-fruits of every man's crop, and alms-money duly to be paid.

III. He enacted, That bishops, of their own proper charges, should repair churches, and should also admonish the king for the furnishing of the same.

IV. For perjury also, and for fighting within the church, he set laws and pains.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Edgar.

I. King Edgar, who began his reign about A.D. 959, amongst other constitutions ecclesiastical, ordained that the Sunday should be kept holy from Saturday at noon till Monday in the morning.

II. Item, He ordained and decreed concerning liberties and freedoms of the church; for tithes also, and first-fruits of corn, and paying of Peter-pence.

III. Item, For holy days and fasting days.

IV. Item, That assemblies or synods should be kept twice every year, whereat as well the bishop of the diocese should be present, as the civil magistrate.

(1) "Corody," an allowance: "Bona quævis, quæ ad victum, vestitum, cultumve ministrantur et inserviunt." Carpentier, Supplem. ad Ducange. [See Appendix.]

*See
Appendix.*

*Henry
VII.*

King Ethelred, A.D. 979

A.D.
1509.

King Ethelred also, who succeeded after Edgar and Edward, appointed divers laws for public regiment, whereof we find but few touching matters ecclesiastical; for tithes, lights, feasts, and nothing else, and therefore we pass further, to the laws of Canute.

Ecclesiastical Laws of King Canute.

Canute the Dane, king, began to reign in this land A.D. 1016. The said Canute (as Ethelred had done before) divided his laws into ecclesiastical and temporal.

I. That ecclesiastical persons, being accused of fighting, murder, or any other offence, should purge themselves thereof.

II. That priests should be degraded for perjury, and put in sureties of good behaviour.

III. He prayeth priests, that they will live chaste, and commanded other religious.

IV. He limited the degrees of marriage.

*See
Appendix.*

V. Item, he commanded celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noon till Monday morning, as Edgar had done before, forbidding markets, huntings, labours, and court-keepings, during the said space.

VI. He ordained each christian man to come to the housel¹ thrice yearly at least; that they might search and inquire after God's law, and his commandments.

VII. That every christian man understand the points of his faith, and that at least he learn perfectly the Lord's prayer and the creed; and that whosoever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the eucharist, and shall not be received to undertake for others in baptism.

VIII. That bishops and priests should do their duties; that they cry out and warn their flocks when the wolf cometh.

IX. That at the court of every shire the bishop of the diocese shall be present with the sheriff; and that the one shall teach them God's law, and the other man's law; as ye heard in king Edgar's laws before.

*Kings of
England,
before the
Conquest
governors
as well in
causes
ecclesiastical
as
temporal.*

Many other laws, both ecclesiastical and temporal, besides these, were enacted by these and other kings here in England, before the Conquest; but these be sufficient to give the understanding reader to consider how the authority of the bishops of Rome, all this while, extended not so far to prescribe laws for government of the church, but that kings and princes of the realm, as they be now, so were then, full governors here under Christ, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal, both in directing orders, instituting laws, in calling of synods, and also in conferring bishoprics and benefices, without any leave of the Romish bishops. Thus Odo, Dunstan, Oswald, Ethelwold, Adelmus, and Lanfranc, although they fetched their palls afterward from Rome, yet were they made bishops and archbishops by kings only, and not by popes.

*When
kings of
England
came first
under the
popes's
subjection.*

And thus stood the government of this realm of England all the time before the Conquest, till pope Hildebrand, through the setting on of the Saxons, began first to bring the emperor (who was Henry IV.) underfoot. Then followed the subduing of other emperors, kings, and subjects after that; as namely here in England, when Lanfranc, Anselm, and Becket, went to complain of their kings and governors, then brought they the pope's judicial authority first from Rome over this land, both over kings and subjects; which ever since

(1) "Housel," the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—ED.

hath continued, till these latter years. Albeit the said kings of this realm of England, being prudent princes, and seeing right well the ambitious presumption of those Romish bishops, did what they could to shake off the yoke of their supremacy, as appeareth by the laws and acts of their parliaments, both in king Edward III.'s time, king Richard II., and king Henry IV., above in their parliament notes specified; yet, for fear of other foreign princes, and the blind opinion of their subjects, such was then the calamity of that time, that they neither could nor durst compass that which fain they would; till, at last, the time of their iniquity being complete, through the Lord's wonderful working, their pride had a fall, as in the next pages ensuing (the Lord so granting), shall by process of history be declared.

Ecclesiastical History.

See Appendix.

The proud Primacy of Popes described,

IN ORDER OF THEIR RISING UP, BY LITTLE AND LITTLE, FROM FAITHFUL BISHOPS AND MARTYRS, TO BECOME LORDS AND GOVERNORS OVER KINGS AND KINGDOMS, EXALTING THEMSELVES IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD.¹

IN the history of the primitive church before described hath been, gentle reader! set forth and exhibited the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments, which, through God's secret sufferance, fell upon the true saints and members of Christ's church in that time, especially upon the good bishops, ministers, and teachers of the flock, of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which days of woeful calamity continued (as is foreshowed) near the space of three hundred years. During that time the dear spouse and elect church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present world, but, in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the cross, passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented, and martyred every where; who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometimes to sing psalms and hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound: and the further off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them, with grace and fortitude to confirm and rejoice their souls: and though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts and treasures from above, a hundred-fold. Then was true religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance showed, but in inward affection received, and the true image of the church, not in outward show pretended, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the name and fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent,

Martyrdom of good bishops under wicked emperors.

The true riches of the church.

*Ecclesiastical
History.*

zeal ardent; prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no pride in the church, nor leisure to seek riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the devil, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of God's favour and supportation.

THE FIRST RISING OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME.

After this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity, to release their misery, and to bind up the old dragon the devil, which so long vexed them; whereby the church began to aspire to some more liberty, and the bishops, who before were as abjects, utterly contemned of emperors, through the providence of God (who disposeth all things in his time after his own will) began now of emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as emperors grew more in devotion, so the bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter-masters, but rather half emperors with emperors.

After this, in process of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergy, and that the devil had poured his venom into the church (as the voice was heard the same time over Constantinople)¹ so true humility began to decay, and pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the ivy doth with the oak tree, which, first beginning with a goodly green show, embraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his root fast in his bark, till at last it both stiflcth the stock, and killeth the branches, and so cometh to be a nest for owls and all unclean birds. Not untruly, therefore, it was said of Augustine, "*Religio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem*;"² that is, "Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother." The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all others in the church of Rome, and the bishops of the same; for after the church of Rome, through favour of emperors, was endued with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the bishops thereof, feeling the smack of wealth, ease, and prosperity, began to swell in pomp and pride;³ the more they flourished in this world, the more God's Holy Spirit forsook them; till at last the said bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the ground, and were persecuted a long time, every man treading upon them in this world; now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of emperors, and to bring the heads of kings and princes under their girdle. And not only that, but furthermore, through pride and riches, they were so far gone from all religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God (whom we call Antichrist), prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c., of whom thus we read in the

Spiritual
riches of
the
church
turned to
worldly
riches.

(1) This refers to an event which is said to have occurred at the period when temporal immunities were bestowed on the church by Constantine: when an angelic voice was heard in the air, saying, "*Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei*." See Wickliff, Dialog. lib. iv. ch. 13.—*Ed.*

(2) Ex lib. Serm. Discipuli.

(3) Look to Tyndal, in his Book of the Practice of Prelates.

epistle of Paul [2 Thess. ii.], where he saith, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition; that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God," &c.

Ecclesiastical History.
The great adversary called Anti-christ, described.

THE WORDS OF ST. PAUL EXPOUNDED.

By which words of St. Paul, we have divers things to understand : First, That the day of the Lord's coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, The apostle, giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, To show what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the high priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the coppersmith, Elymas, and Simon Magus, and Nero the emperor, in Paul's time, were great adversaries; yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest; not such a one as should be like to priest, king, or emperor; but such as, far exceeding the state of all kings, priests, and emperors, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God; thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the pope in the city only of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole universal church, equal with God himself. For let men give to the pope that which he, in his laws, decrees, and in his pontifical, requireth, and what difference is there between God and the pope? If God set laws and ordinances, so doth he. If God hath his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of God's commandments be punished, much more be his. God hath his religion, the pope also hath his; for God's one religion, he hath a hundred. God hath set up one advocate, he hath a hundred. God hath instituted but a few holy days; for God's one, he hath instituted forty. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be 'simplex,' the feast that the pope appointeth, is 'duplex,' and 'triplex.' Christ is the head of the church; so is the pope. Christ giveth influence to his body; so doth the pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the pope doth no less. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his power; so pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot upon the bare ground, he with his golden shoes is carried on men's shoulders; and where Christ was called Sanctus Sanctorum, he is called Sanctorum Sanetissimus. Christ never practised but only the spiritual sword; he claimeth both spiritual and temporal. Christ bought the church; he both buyeth and selleth the church. And if it be necessary to believe Christ to be the Saviour of the world; so it is necessary to believe the pope to be the head of the church. Christ paid tribute unto Cæsar; he maketh Cæsar pay

The pope matching himself even with God.

Ecclesiastical History.

tribute unto him. Finally, the crown of Christ was of sharp thorns; the pope hath three crowns of gold upon his head, as far exceeding Christ the Son of God in the glory of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glory of heaven; the image and pattern of whose intolerable pride and exaltation, according as St. Paul doth describe him in his epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not only in these histories to be seen, and by his own facts to be noted, but also in his own words and registers, clementines, extravagants, and pontificals, expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

THE EXALTATION OF POPES ABOVE KINGS AND EMPERORS, OUT OF HISTORIES.

The patriarch of Constantinople subdued by the pope. Also the emperor's lieutenant of Ravenna.

First, After Italy and the city of Rome were overrun by the Goths and Vandals, so that the seat of the empire was removed to Constantinople, then began John, the patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himself, and would needs be called universal bishop of the world; but the bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the emperor's deputy, and exarch of Ravenna, to rule Italy; but the bishop of Rome, through aid of the king of Lombards, soon quailed him.

See Appendix.

How the bishops of Rome came first to be the head bishops.

Not long after, about A. D. 600, came Phocas the murderer, who slew the emperor of Constantinople, his master Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head bishops over the whole church; and so, together with the Lombards, began to rule the city of Rome.¹ Afterwards, when the Lombards would not yield unto him in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needs require of the bishop the said city of Rome; he stirred up Pepin, but first deposed Childerie the king of France, and so thrusting him into an abbey, set up in his place Pepin and his son Charlemagne, to put down the said king of Lombards, called Aistulphus. And so he translated the empire from Constantinople into France, dividing the spoil between him and them; so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the empire, and he to receive of them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. Peter's patrimony, which they falsely ascribe to that donation of Constantine the Great.

Donation of Constantine, a thing forged.

It followeth then in process of time, after the days of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis I. (who had endued these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions), when the kings of France were not so applicable to their beek to aid and maintain them against the princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongfully usurped goods, they practised with Otho, the third emperor of that name, duke of Saxony, to pass an edict to reduce the empire to the Germans, referring the election thereof to seven princes-electors of Germany, and binding them to choose always some German prince, which was about A.D. 1002; notwithstanding, reserving still in their own hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.

Pope Gregory V. practiseth with Otho III. to reduce the empire to Germany.

At length, when some of these German emperors also after Otho

(1) Boniface III. obtained of Phocas to be called universal bishop.

began a little to spurn against the said bishops and popes of Rome, some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed and placed other in their possessions. *Ecclesiastical History.*

So was Henry IV. by these bishops accursed, the emperor himself forced with his wife and child to wait attendance upon the pope's pleasure three days and three nights in winter, at the gates of Canusium, or Canossa.¹ Besides all this the said pope raised up Rodolph to be emperor against him; who being slain in war, then the said pope Gregory VII., not resting thus, stirred up his own son Henry V. to fight against his own natural father, and to depose him; which Henry V. was also himself afterward accursed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set up by the pontiff to fight against him.² *Emperors brought under the pope.*

After this, the emperors began to be somewhat calmed and more quiet, suffering the popes to reign as they listed, till Frederic I., called Barbarossa, came and began to stir coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him and his son Henry in such sort, that they brought first the neck of Frederic, in the church of Venice, under their feet, to tread upon; and after that, the pontiff, crowning Henry his son in the church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with his feet, and with his feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crown emperors, and to depose them again; whereof read before.³

Then followed Philip, brother to Henry aforesaid, about A.D. 1198, whom also the popes accursed, and set up Otho duke of Saxony. But when the said Otho began to be so saucy, as to dispossess the popes of their cities and lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beside the cushion; who was suffered no longer than four years to reign after Philip's death, viz. till about A.D. 1212.⁴

At this time Frederic II., the grandson of Frederic Barbarossa above-mentioned, was but young; whom the bishops of Rome supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be emperor after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation; for he, perceiving the immoderate pomp and pride of the Roman bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extirpate their tyranny, and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitive church again, putting some of them to flight, and prisoning some of their cardinals, that of three popes, one after another, he was accursed, circumvented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned; and, at last, forsaken and died. *Honorius III. Gregory IX. Innocent IV. against Frederic II. emperor.*

After this Frederic followed his son Conrad, whom the aforesaid pontiffs for his disobedience soon dispatched, exciting against him in mortal war the Landgrave of Thuringia, whereby he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there deceased. *War raised against Conrad, by the bishops of Rome.*

This Conrad had a son called Conradine, duke and prince of Suabia.⁵ When this Conradine after the decease of his father came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, the said pontiffs stirred up against him Charles the French king's brother, in such sort, that through

(1) See vol. ii. p. 128.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. p. 174.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. pp. 195, 304.—Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) Ex Aventino.

Ecclesiastical History. crafty conveyance, both Conradine who was descended of the blood of so many emperors, and also Frederic duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, unseemingly to their state, at length were both brought under the axe by the pope's procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the imperial stock of Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa.

Insolency of pope Boniface VIII. against Philip, the French king. The like as happened to Frederic the emperor, had almost also fallen upon Philip the French king, by pope Boniface VIII., who, because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France after his will, sent out his bulls and letters patent to displace king Philip aforesaid, to possess Albert I. king of Romans in his room.

Tyrannous injuries of bishops of Rome, against kings of England. And thus hitherto of foreign stories. Now touching our country princes here in England, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not pope Alexander III. presumptuously, taking upon him (where he had nothing to do) to intermeddle with the king's subjects for the death of Becket the rebel? Albeit the king sufficiently cleared himself thereof, yet, notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said king Henry II. to such penance as it pleased him to enjoin, and also violently constrain him to swear obedience to the see of Rome? The like also was showed before in this story to happen to king John his son; for when the said king, like a valiant prince, had held out the tyranny of those bishops seven years together, were not all the churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away by pope Innocent III. to Philip II. the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himself and to make his whole realm feudatory to the bishops of Rome? and, moreover, was not the king himself driven also to surrender his crown to Pandulph the pope's legate, and so continue as a private person five days, standing at the pope's courtesy, whether to receive it again at his hands or no? And when the nobles of the realm rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then fain to seek and sue to the aforesaid pope for succour, as by his own letter,¹ hereunder to be seen, taken out of the public rolls, may appear?

See Appendix. And yet, all this notwithstanding (that the said king John did so yield to the pope), he was both pursued by his nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the pope's own religion, a monk of Swineshead; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only by William Caxton above in my story alleged, but also have testimony of the most part of chroniclers for the same (a few only excepted), as of Thomas Gray in his French Chronicle; also of another French chronicle in metre; also of Ranulphus Cestrensis: Thomas Rudburn also doth witness the same; so doth Richard Rede, in 'Novo Chronico

(1) *The Supplication of King John to Pope Innocent the Third.*

Reverendo Domino suo et Patri Sanctissimo Innocentio, Dei gratia summo Pontifici, Johannes, eadem gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Cum comites et barones nobis devoti essent, antequam nos et nostram terram dominio vestro subicere curassemus, extunc in nos specialiter ob hoc, sicut publice dicunt, violenter insurgunt. Nos vero, post Deum vos specialem dominum et patronum habentes, defensionem nostram et totius Regni, quod vestrum est, esse credimus vestre paternitati commissam, et nos quantum in nobis est curam et sollicitudinem istam vestre reservamus dominationi, devotius supplicantes quatenus in negotiis nostris, quæ vestra sunt, consilium et auxilium efficac apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire; latores presentium, &c. Teste meipso apud Dour. 13 die Septem.

(1) [Corrected] Ex Rotulo patent. de an. Regni Reg. Johannis 17 [in Rymer].

ad tempora Henrici VI.;' the like also doth the chronicle called 'Eulogium Monachi Cant.' The words of Walter Gisburn, an ancient historiographer, be plain. No less is to be found in Johannes Major, 'De Gestis Scotorum,' lib. iv. cap. 3, fol. 56, where he not only maketh mention of the monk and of the poison, but also of the abbot, of his absolution, and of the three monks every day singing for the said monk's soul. To these I could also annex divers other writers both English and Latin, without name, who witness that king John was poisoned; one beginning thus, "Here beginneth a book in the English tongue, called 'Brute,'" &c. Another beginneth, "Because this book is made to tell what time any thing notable," &c. The third in English beginneth, "The reign of Britain that now is called England," &c. Of Latin books which have no name, one beginneth thus: "Britannia, quæ et Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen est sortita," &c. Another hath this beginning: "Adam pater generis humani," &c.

Ecclesiastical Historg.

Writers in English and Latin without name.

Besides this king Henry II., and king John his son, what kings have here reigned in England since their time, until the reign of king Henry VIII.; who, although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet were forced at length sore against their wills, for fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects, under their usurped authority, insomuch that some of them (as Matthew Paris writeth of king Henry III.) were fain to stoop and kiss their legate's knee.

Hen. III. kissing the knee of the pope's legate.

The Image of Antichrist, exalting himself in the Temple of God, above all that is named God,^a

See Appendix.

OUT OF HIS OWN DECREES, DECRETALS, EXTRAVAGANTS, PONTIFICALS, ETC., WORD FOR WORD, AS IT IS OUT OF THE SAID BOOKS HERE ALLEGED AND QUOTED.

¹ Forasmuch as it standeth upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject unto me the pope of Rome, it shall be therefore requisite and necessary for all men that will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my see and excellency of my domination, as is here set forth according to the truth and very words of mine own laws, in style as followeth: ²First, my institution began in the Old Testament, and was consummated and finished in the New, in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron; and other bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, that were under him; ³neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the Gospel, and the mouth of the Saviour, ⁴and hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. ⁵Wherefore, as other seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me, so have they no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more than the axe hath power to stand or presume above him that heweth with it, or the saw to presume above him that ruleth it. ⁶This is the holy

(a) 2 Thess. ii.

(1) Pope Bonifacius VIII. Extravag. [Commun. lib. i. tit 8.] de Majori. et Obed. c. 1. 'Unam.'

(2) Distinct. 21. Prohem. 'Decretis.'

(3) Pope Gelasius, dist. 21. c. 3. 'Quamvis.'

(4) Gelasius, ibidem.

(5) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 21. c. 4. 'Inferior.'

(6) Pope Lucius, Causa 24. q. i. c. 9. 'A recta.'

*Ecclē-
stias-
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History.*

and apostolic mother-church of all other churches of Christ; ⁷from whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the church of Rome; ⁸and if any other person or persons shall err from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be known who they be, that swerve from the customs of Rome.

⁹Thus then, forasmuch as the holy church of Rome, whereof I am governor, is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, reason would what thing soever the said church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. ¹⁰Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, that was fore-prophesied by Jeremy, saying, "Behold, I have set thee up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant," &c. ¹¹Whoso understandeth not the prerogative of this my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the sun and the moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night: so in the firmament of the universal church, ¹²God hath set two great dignities, the authority of the pope, and of the emperor; of which two, this our dignity is so much more weighty, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth, and the laws of men.

¹³Wherefore be it known to you emperors, who know it also right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us: we must not be brought and reduced to your will. ¹⁴For, as I said, look what difference there is betwixt the sun and the moon, so great is the power of the pope ruling over the day, that is, over the spirituality, above emperors and kings, ruling over the night; that is, over the laity. ¹⁵Now, seeing then the earth is seven times bigger than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth; it followeth that the pope's dignity fifty-six times doth surmount the estate of the emperors. ¹⁶Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, that Constantine the emperor did wrong, in setting the patriarch of Constantinople at his feet on his left hand. ¹⁷And although the said emperor wrote to me, alleging the words of St. Peter, commanding us to submit ourselves to every human creature, as to kings, dukes, and others for the cause of God, &c. [1 Pet. ii.], yet, in answering again in my decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. Peter to pertain to his subjects, and not his successors; willing the said emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human creature, then every Jack might have dominion over prelates; which maketh against the example of Christ, setting up the order of priesthood to bear dominion over kings, according to the saying of Jeremy, "Behold, I have set thee up over kings and nations," &c.

(7) Pope Calixtus, dist. 12. c. 1. 'Non decet.'

(8) Pope Innocentius I. dist. 11. c. 11. 'Quis.'

(9) Pope Stephan. dist. 19. c. 4. 'Enimvero.'

(10) Pope Bonifac. VIII. Extravag. [Commun. lib. i. tit. 8.] c. 'Unam sanctam.' Item, pope Johannes XXII. Extravag. [Commun. lib. i. tit. 1.] cap. 'Super gentes.'

(11) Pope Innocent III. art. de Major. et obed. [in Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 33. c. 6. 'Solitae,' § 4.]

(12) Pope Gelasius, dist. 96. c. 'Duo.'

(13) Ibidem.

(14) Innocentius de Major. et obed. c. 'Solitae.'

(15) Glossa. Ibidem.

(16) Ibidem.

(17) Innocentius. Ibid.

¹⁸And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperors, that they, receiving of me their approbation, unction, consecration, and crown imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their allegiance. ¹⁹For so you read in the decree of pope John, how that princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of bishops. ²⁰If this reverence and submission were wont to be given to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being superior, not only to kings, but emperors? and that for two causes: first, for my title of succession, that I, pope of Rome, have to the empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter; ²¹by reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man, but of God, who by his celestial providence hath set me over his whole universal church, master and governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal sin of every christian man; ²²whereby all criminal offences, as well of kings as all others, be subject to my censure, ²³in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence given, or after, shall appeal to me, it shall be lawful for him so to do: ²⁴neither must kings and princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgment; for so did Valentinian the worthy emperor, so did Theodosius, and also Charlemagne.

²⁵Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I, pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable or hurtful, either to myself or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable souls by heaps to hell, yet may no mortal man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous, to reprove me, ²⁶or to say to me, "Domine cur ita facis;" that is, "Sir, why do you so?" ²⁷For although you read that Balaam was rebuked by his ass, by which ass our subjects, by Balaam we prelates, are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. ²⁸And though we read in the scripture, that Peter, who received power of the kingdom, and being chief of the apostles, might, by virtue of his office, control all others, was content to come and give answer before his inferiors, objecting to him his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiors must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because Peter so took it at their hands; showing thereby rather a dispensation of humility, than the power of his office: by which power he might have said to them again in this wise, "It becometh not sheep, nor belongeth to their office, to accuse their shepherd. ²⁹For else, why was Dioscorus patriarch of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon? Not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against Pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome: for who is he that hath authority to accuse the seat of St. Peter? ³⁰Albeit I am not ignorant what St. Jerome

(18) Pope Clement V. Clementin [lib. ii. tit. ix.] de jure-jurando. c. 'Romani.'

(19) Pope Johannes, dist. 96. [c. 'Si imperator,' et Pope Gelasius dist. ead.] c. 'Nunquam.'

(20) Pope Clement V. Clementin [lib. ii. tit. xi.] de Sentent. et de re judicata 'pastoralis.'

(21) Pope Innocent III. [Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. ii. tit. i. § 13.] De judiciis c. 'Novit.'

(22) Ibidem.

(23) Pope Marcellus, caus. 2. q. 6. c. 'Ad Romanam.' [See Appendix.]

(24) Innocent. 'Novit ille.' (25) Bonifacius Martyr. dist. 40. c. 'Si Papa.'

(26) Glossa Extr. de sede vacante. 'Ad apostolatus.' (27) Pope Leo, caus. 2. q. 7. c. 'Nos.'

(28) Greg. [I. Causa] li. q. 7. [§ 40.] 'Petrus.' (29) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 21. c. 9. 'In tantum.'

(30) Hieron. caus. 2. q. 7. c. 33. 'Paulus.' [See Appendix.]

Ecclesiastical History.

writeth, that Paul would not have reprehended Peter, unless he had thought himself equal unto him; ³¹ yet Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignity, but in pureness of conversation: ³² for who gave Paul his license to preach but Peter? and that by the authority of God, saying, "Separate to me Paul and Barnabas," &c.

³³ Wherefore, be it known to all men, that my church of Rome is prince and head of all nations; ³⁴ the mother of the faith; ³⁵ the foundation cardinal, whereupon all churches do depend, as the door doth depend by the hinges; ³⁶ the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish; ³⁷ lady mistress, and instructor of all churches; ³⁸ a glass and a spectacle unto all men, to be followed in all, whatsoever she observeth; ³⁹ who was never yet found to slide or decline from the path of apostolic tradition, or to be entangled with any newness of heresy; ⁴⁰ against which church of Rome whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith a heretic, ⁴¹ yea, a very pagan, a witch, and an idolater or infidel; ⁴² having fulness of power only in her own hands in ruling; ⁴³ deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in. ⁴⁴ Albeit I deny not but other churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying: ⁴⁵ to which church of Rome it is lawful to appeal for remedy, from the churches.

See Appendix.

Although it was otherwise concluded in the general council at Milevis, that no man should appeal over the sea under pain of excommunication, yet my gloss cometh in here with an exception: "Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint," i. e. "Except the appeal be to the see of Rome;" &c. ⁴⁶ by the authority of which church of Rome all synods and decrees of councils stand confirmed, ⁴⁷ and who hath always full authority in her hands to make new laws and decrements; and to alter statutes, privileges, rights or documents of churches; to separate things joined, and to join things separated, upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. ⁴⁸ Of which church of Rome I am head, as a king is over his judges; ⁴⁹ the vicar of St. Peter, ⁵⁰ yea, not the vicar of Peter properly, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter; ⁵¹ vicar of Jesus Christ, ⁵² rector of the universal church, director of the Lord's universal flock, ⁵³ chief magistrate of the whole world; ⁵⁴ Cephas, i. e. caput, the head and chief of the apostolic church; ⁵⁵ universal pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every bishop is in places not exempt; ⁵⁶ most mighty priest; ⁵⁷ "lex animata in terris," i. e. ⁵⁸ "a living law in the earth," judged to

- (31) Glossa Gratiani. Ib.
 (32) Glossa in Diss. 11. c. 'Quis.'
 (33) Caus. 2. q. 7. c. 'Beati.'
 (34) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'
 (35) P. Anaclet, dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.' [See Appendix.]
 (36) P. Gelasius, dist. 21. c. 'Quamvis.'
 (37) P. Nicolaus, dist. 21. c. 'Denique.'
 (38) P. Steph. dist. 19. c. 'Enimvero.'
 (39) Pope Lucius. causa 24. q. 1. c. 9. 'A recta.'
 (40) P. Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'
 (41) P. Gregor. dist. 81. c. 'Si qui.'
 (42) P. Leo, caus. 3. q. 6. c. 'Ultum.'
 (43) Dist. 20. 'Decretales.'
 (44) Pope Julius. Caus. 2. q. 6. 'Qui se.' [See Appendix.]
 (45) Causa. 2. q. 6. 'Arguta.' Item. c. 'Ad Romanam.' Item. c. 35. 'Placuit.' Glossa Gratiani
 'Nisi.'
 (46) Pope Gelasi. 25. q. 1. c. 'Confidimus.'
 (47) P. Urbanus, 25. q. 1. c. 'Sunt.' P. Pelagius, 25. q. 2. c. 'posteaquam.'
 (48) Illa Donationis, dist. 96. c. 'Constant.' [See App.] (49) P. Paschalis, dist. 63. c. 'Ego.'
 (50) P. Clement. V. Clementin. [lib. ii. tit. ix.] c. 'Romani.' Glossa.
 (51) P. Bonif. VIII. Sext. Decret. [lib. i. tit. 6.] c. [111. § 4.] 'Ubi.'
 (52) Ibidem.
 (53) P. Bonif. prohem. [Corp. Juris Canon. vol. ii. p. 283. Edit. Paris, 1687.] Sext. Decret. ab
 'Sacrosancta.'
 (54) Anacletus, dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'
 (55) P. Bonif. VIII. Sext. Decret. de pœnit. et remis. c. 5. Glossa. [See App.] Item Alexand. IV
 Sext. Decret. c. 4. in Glossa.
 (56) P. Hilarius, 25. q. 1. c. 'Nulli.'
 (57) Sext. Decret. cap. 'Ab Arbitris.' Glossa. [lib. i. tit. 14. § 1.]
 (58) P. Bonif. Sext. Decret. [lib. i. tit. 2.] de Const. c. 'Licet.'

have all laws in the chest of my breast; ⁵⁹bearing the room of no pure man; ⁶⁰being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both; ⁶¹having both swords in my power, both of the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; ⁶²so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that I, of mine own power alone, without a council, have authority to depose him, or to transfer his kingdom, and to give a new election, as I did to Frederic and divers others. ⁶³What power then or potestate in all the world is comparable to me, who have authority to bind and loose both in heaven and earth? ⁶⁴that is, who have power both of heavenly things, and also of temporal things; ⁶⁵to whom emperors and kings be more inferior, than lead is inferior to gold. ⁶⁶For do you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend under our knees, yea and think themselves happy and well defended, if they may kiss our hands? ⁶⁷Wherefore the sauciness of Honorius the emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who, with his laity, would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal order, but also with matters ecclesiastical, and election of the pope.

⁶⁸But here percase some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, "That his kingdom is not of this world;" and where he, being required to divide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power; ⁶⁹for if Peter, and I in Peter—if we, I say, have power to bind and loose in heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have power on earth to loose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where we will? ⁷⁰And if we have authority over angels, who be the governors of princes, what then may we not do upon their inferiors and servants? ⁷¹And, for that you shall not marvel that I say angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed clerk Antoninus writeth of the matter, saying, That our power, of Peter and me, is greater than the angels in four things: first, in jurisdiction; secondly, in administration of sacraments; thirdly, in knowledge; fourthly, in reward, &c. ⁷²And again, in 'Bulla Clementis,' do I not there command, in my bull, the angels of paradise, to absolve the soul of man out of purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of paradise?

⁷³And now, besides my heavenly power, to speak of mine earthly jurisdiction: Who did first translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almain, but I? ⁷⁴And not only in the empire am I emperor, the place being empty, but in all ecclesiastical benefices have full right and power to give, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. ⁷⁵Did not I, Zacharias, put down Childeric the old king of France, and set up Pepin? ⁷⁶Did not I, Gregory VII., set up

(59) Pope Innocentius III. de trans. [Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 7.] c. 3. 'Quanto.'

(60) Prohem. Clement. Gloss. 'Papa Stupor mundi, &c. Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque.'

(61) P. Bonif. Extravag. de Majorit. et obed. c. 'Unam.' Item, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'

(62) Sext. Decr. [lib. ii. tit. 14.] de sentent. et de re [judicata, c. 2.] 'Ad apostolicæ.' Item in Gloss. Ibid. (63) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'

(64) Gloss. Ibid.

(65) Pope Gelasius, dist. 96. c. 'Duo.'

(66) Pope Gelasius Ibidem.

(67) D. st. 96. c. 'Ibid.'

(68) Ex citatione Hiero. Maril. [See Appendix.]

(69) Pope Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius VII. Ex Platina, in vita Gregorii. [p. 169, edit. Col. Agrip. 1626.] (70) Hildebrandus, Ibidem. (71) Antoninus, in tertia parte Summæ majoris.

(72) Bulla Clementis.

(73) Pope Innocent. de electione [Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 6. c. 34.] 'Venerabilem.'

(74) Extrav. [Commun. lib. iii. tit. 2.] de præbend. et d'g. c. 4. 'Execrabilis.'

(75) Pope Zacharias, Caus. 15. q. 6. c. 'Alius.'

(76) Pope Hildebrand. alia: Gregor. VII. Clementin. [lib. ii. tit. xi.] c. 2. 'Pastoralis.'

Ecclesiastical History.

Robert Wysard, and make him king of Sicily and duke of Capua? &c. ⁷⁷Did not I, the same Gregory, also set up Rodolphus against Henry IV., emperor? ⁷⁸And though this Henry was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, ⁷⁹yet did not I, Gregory, bring him 'coram nobis,' and make him stand at my gate three days and three nights, bare-foot and bare-leg, with his wife and child, in the deep of winter, both in frost and snow, entreating for his absolution; and afterwards did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice excommunicated in my days?

See Appendix.

⁸⁰Again, did not I, Paschal, after Gregory, set up the son of the said Henry against his father in war, to possess the empire, and to put down his father? and so he did! ⁸¹Item, Did not I, pope Alexander, bring under Henry II., king of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? ⁸²Did not I, Innocent III., cause king John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulph my legate, and offer up his crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton bishop of Canterbury, and besides amerced him in a thousand marks by year? ⁸³Did not I, Urban II., put down earl Hugo in Italy, discharging his subjects from their oath and obedience to him? ⁸⁴Did not I, Paschal, excommunicate also his son Henry V., and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Gelasius II., bring the captain Cintius under, unto the kissing of my feet? and after Gelasius, did not I, Calixtus II., quail the aforesaid emperor Henry V., and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the said emperor had set up against me to be pope, bringing him into Rome upon a camel, his face to the horse's tail, making him to hold the horse's tail in his hand, instead of a bridle? ⁸⁵Further, did not I, Innocent II., set up and make Lothaire to be emperor for driving pope Anacletus out of Rome? ⁸⁶Did not I, the said Innocent, take the dukedom of Sicily from the empire, and make Roger to be king thereof, whereby afterwards the kingdom became the patrimony of St. Peter? ⁸⁷Did not I, Alexander III., suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage, A. D. 1159?

⁸⁸But what do I speak of kings? Did not I, the said Alexander, bring the valiant emperor Frederic I. to Venice, by reason of his son Otho there taken prisoner, and there, in St. Mark's church, make him fall down flat upon the ground, while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis?" &c. ⁸⁹Did not I, Adrian pope, an Englishman born, excommunicate William king of Sicily, and refuse his peace which he offered? and had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his kingdom of Sicily, and dukedom of Apulia! ⁹⁰Also did not I, the said Adrian, control and correct the aforesaid

(77) Ex Gestis Hildebrandi.

(79) Platina, Benno, Naucerus.

(81) Polydore Virgil. Historia Jormalensis de rebus Anglorum.

(82) Chronica vernacula.

(84) Pope Paschalis, Cursulanus, Platina, Vincentius, Stella, Antoninus, Mattheus Parisiensis, Pope Gelasius II.; Pope Calixtus II. Plat. de vitis pontificum.

(85) Pope Innocentius II. [Platina, p. 185, Edit. 1626.]

(87) Pope Alexander III. de sponsal. et matr. [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iv. tit. 1.] c. 11. 'Non est.'

(88) Naucerus [Chronica, p. 856, Edit. 1579; Balei] acta Rom. pontificum. [p. 271, Edit. 1615.]

(89) Pope Adrian [IV. Platina, p. 189, Ed. 1626. Barnes] vit. Rom. pontificum. [p. 243, Ed. 1615.]

(90) Ex Aventino. [See Appendix.]

(78) Baptista Egnatius.

(80) Platina, Egnatius, Benno.

(83) Pope Urbanus, Caus. 15. q. 6. c. 'Juratos.'

(86) Naucerus.

Frederic, emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have holden the right? ⁹¹And afterwards, did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? ⁹²and, although a poor fly afterwards overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop! ⁹³Did not I, Innocent III., deject Philip, brother to Frederic, from the imperial crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? and also set up Otho of Brunswick, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same four years, setting up the French king to war against him? ⁹⁴Then was Frederic II. set up by me, and reigned thirty-seven years; and yet, five years before he died, ⁹⁵did not I, Honorius, interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? ⁹⁶whom also Gregory IX. did excommunicate twice together, and raised up the Venetians against him; ⁹⁷and at length Innocent spoiled him of his empire: after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfred, and did excommunicate his son Conrad after him, not only depriving him of his right inheritance, but also causing him, with Frederic duke of Austria, to be beheaded! ⁹⁸Thus then did I not excommunicate and depose all these emperors in order, Henry IV., Henry V., Frederic I., Philip, Otho IV., Frederic II., and Conrad his son? ⁹⁹Did not I interdict king Henry VIII., ¹⁰⁰and all his kingdom of England? ¹⁰¹and had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I had displaced him from his kingdom also!

Ecclesiastical History.

See Appendix.

Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my power and of my seat? ¹⁰²for by me only, general councils take their force and confirmation; ¹⁰³and the interpretation of the said councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. ¹⁰⁴By me the works of all writers, whatsoever they be, be either reprov'd or allowed: ¹⁰⁵then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all others, ¹⁰⁶insomuch that my letters and epistles decretal be equivalent with general councils. ¹⁰⁷And whereas God hath ordained all causes of men to be judged by men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, unto his own judgment. ¹⁰⁸And therefore, where all other creatures be under their judge, only I, who in earth am the judge of all, can be judged by none, neither of emperor, nor of the whole clergy, nor of kings, nor of the people: ¹⁰⁹for who hath power to judge upon his judge? ¹¹⁰This judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any council joined to me. For I have power upon councils: councils have no power upon me. But if the council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I lust, without any council; ¹¹¹and all for the pre-eminence of my prede-

(91) Bulla [rather, Epistola] Adriani contra Cæsarem. [in Labbe, tom. x. col. 1149.]

(92) [Balei] Acta Ro. pont. [p. 263. See Appendix.]

(93) Pope Innocentius III. Ex [Balei] vitis et Actis Rom. pontificum [p. 285: Labbe, tom. xl. pt. 1. col. 1.] Ex Ab. Ursperg. (94) Ex eodem.

(95) Pope Honor. III. Ex Mario. [p. 29, See Appendix.]

(96) Pope Greg. IX. Ex eodem. [p. 30, See Appendix.]

(97) Pope Innocent IV. Hieronymus Marius [p. 33.] Petrus de Vineis.

(98) Ex Chronic. Carionis. (99) Hist. Anglorum. (100) Ibidem. (101) Ibidem.

(102) Pope Marcellus, dist. 17. c. 'Synodum.' (103) Dist. 20. 'Decretales.'

(104) Pope Nicolaus, dist. 19. 'Si Romanorum.'

(105) Ibidem.

(106) Dist. 20. 'Decretales.'

(107) Symmachus Pope, 9. q. 3. 'Ahorum.'

(108) Pope Innocentius VI. [Causa ix.] q. 3. c. 13. 'Nemo.' [See Appendix.] (109) Ibidem.

(110) Pope Gelasius I. [Causa ix.] q. 3. c. 17. 'Cuncta.'

(111) Ibid.

Ecclesiastical History. cessor blessed St. Peter, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain.

¹¹² Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and judgments, both of councils, person, or persons, may and ought to be examined, ¹¹³ for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour; only my sentence and judgment must stand, ¹¹⁴ as given out of heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must ¹¹⁵ break, nor retract; ¹¹⁶ no man must dispute or doubt of. ¹¹⁷ Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke, seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of St. Peter, it must be humbly obeyed. ¹¹⁸ Yea, and moreover, obedience is to be given, not only to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be pope. ¹¹⁹ And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all men to err, and to be deceived, ¹²⁰ yet neither am I a pure man. ¹²¹ And again, the sentence of my apostolic seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concocted and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or retracted. ¹²² Wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holy bishops, that the dignity of this my seat is to be revered through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it, as to the head of the whole body, ¹²³ whereof it is spoken to me by the prophet, speaking of the ark: "If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become?"

Seeing then this is so, that holy bishops and scriptures do so witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me, to whom all others are subject? ¹²⁴ Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh in Deuteronomy, "Thou oughtest not to put thy scythe into another man's corn:" which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain sacrilege ¹²⁵ according to my canonists? who thus define sacrilege to consist in three things: either when a man judgeth of his prince's judgment; or when the holy-day is profaned; or when reverence is not given to laws and canons.

¹²⁶ Against the second sort maketh the place of the book of Kings, where we read the ark of God was brought from Gaba to Jerusalem; and, in the way, the ark inclining by reason of the unruly oxen, Ozias the Levite put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By this ark is signified the prelates; by the inclination thereof the fall of prelates; ¹²⁷ who also be signified by the angels that Jacob did see going up and coming down the ladder; ¹²⁸ also by the prophet, where he saith, "He bowed down the heavens and came down," &c. By Ozias, and by the unruly oxen are meant our subjects. ¹²⁹ Then, like as Ozias was stricken for putting his hand to

(112) Athanasius Patriarcha [Causa ix.] q. 3. c. 12. 'Antiquis.'

(113) Pope Greg. [Causa xi.] q. 3. c. [78] 'Quatuor.' [See Appendix.]

(114) Pope Agatho Dist. 19. c. 'Sic omnes.'

(115) Pope Nicholas, [Causa] 9. q. 3. 'Patet.'

(116) Pope Innocent II. [Causa] 17. q. 4. c. 29. 'Si quis.'

(117) Dist. 19. c. 'In memoriam.'

(118) Sext. Decret. Tit. 7. De renunciat. 'Quoniam.' Glossa.

(119) Offic. lib. I.

(120) Glossa Extra. De verb. signif. c. 'Ad.'

(121) Pope Greg. Caus. 35. q. 9. c. 4. 'Apostolicæ.'

(122) Pope Symmachus. Caus. 9. q. 3. 'Aliorum.'

(123) Ibid.

(124) Pope Greg. [I. Causa] VI. q. 3. c. 1. 'Scriptum est.'

(125) Caus. 17. q. 4. 'Sacrileg.' Glossa

(126) [Causa] 2. q. 7. c. 27. Plerumque. Item Glosses Gratiani.

(127) Ibid.

(128) Ibid.

(129) Ibid.

the ark inclining, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry : ¹³⁰albeit, here may be answered again, that all be not prelates who so be called ; for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life.

Ecclesiastical History.

¹³¹Against the third sort, of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the New Testament, where Peter was bid to give the groat in the fish's mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fish. No more is the head or body of the church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth ; that is, the extern things of the church. And yet not they neither ; ¹³²for so we read in the book of Genesis, that Pharaoh, in time of dearth, subdued all the land of the Egyptians ; but yet he ministered to the priests, so that he neither took their possessions from them, nor their liberty.

If then the prelates of the church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same, ¹³³who am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelates ? ¹³⁴For it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other prelates ; betwixt my see and other churches, be like ; ¹³⁵although the whole catholic and apostolic church make one bride-chamber of Christ, yet the catholic and apostolic church of Rome had the pre-eminence given over all others by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, "Thou art Peter," &c.

¹³⁶Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children ; ¹³⁷betwixt the seventy-two disciples, and the twelve apostles ; betwixt the other apostles and Peter. ¹³⁸Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the church betwixt power superior and inferior ; without which order the university of the whole cannot consist. ¹³⁹For as amongst the angelical creatures above in heaven there is set a difference and inequality of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubim and seraphim : ¹⁴⁰so in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church militant on the earth, priests must not be equal with bishops, bishops must not be like in order with archbishops, or with patriarchs or primates, ¹⁴¹who contain under them three archbishops, as a king containeth three dukes under him ; in which number of patriarchs cometh also in, the state of ¹⁴²cardinals or principals, so called, because as the door turneth by his hinges, so the universal church ought to be ruled by them. ¹⁴³The next and highest order above these is mine, who am pope, differing in power and majority, and honour reverential, from these and all other degrees of men : ¹⁴⁴for the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth ; 'immediata,' which is mine immediately from God ; 'derivata,' which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me ; ¹⁴⁵'ministralis,' belonging to emperors and princes to minister for me. For which cause the anointing of princes, and my consecration, do differ : for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in

(130) Ibid. 'His ita.' [Gratiani Glos. § 7.]

(131) Pope Urbanus [Causa] 23. q. [8. c. 22] 'Tribntum.'

(132) Ibidem. 'Quamvis.'

(133) Pope Benedict. Extr. De aut. et usu pallii. c. 'Sancta.'

(134) Pope Stephanus. dist. 19. c. 'Enim vero.'

(135) Pope Gelasius, dist. 21. c. 3. 'Quamvis.'

(136) Dist. 21. 'Decretis.'

(137) Pope Anaclet. dist. 21. c. 2. 'In novo.'

(138) Pope Bonifacius et Greg. Dist. 89. 'Ad hoc.'

(139) Ibid. (140) Dist. 89. c. 'Singula.'

(141) Ex citatione Bullingeri Decad. 5. sermo 3. (142) De officio Archipresbyt. in Glossa.

(143) 143 *** (144) Ex 3. parte Summæ majoris b. Antonini [tit. 22. cap. 3. § 7.]

(145) Pope Innocent III. [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 15.] De sacra unctione, c. 1. 'Cum venisset.'

Ecclesiastical History. the head, to signify the difference of power betwixt princes and me.

¹⁴⁶This order, therefore, of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and others, as a thing most convenient, my church of Rome hath set and instituted through all churches, following therein, not only the example of the angelical army in heaven, but also of the apostles: ¹⁴⁷for amongst them, also, there was not a uniform equality or institution of one degree, ¹⁴⁸but a diversity or distinction of authority and power. Albeit they were all apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter (themselves also agreeing to the same), that he should bear dominion and superiority over all the other apostles; ¹⁴⁹and therefore he had his name given him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the apostlehood. ¹⁵⁰Whereupon the order of the priest-hood first in the New Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said, "Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my church; ¹⁵¹and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and thou being converted confirm thy brethren. ¹⁵²I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail." Wherefore seeing such power is given to Peter, ¹⁵³and to me in Peter, being his successor, ¹⁵⁴who is he then in all the world that ought not to be subject to my decrees, which have such power in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quick and also the dead? ¹⁵⁵commanding and granting in my bull of lead, sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the pain of hell should not touch them: and also, that all such as took the holy cross upon them, should every one at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls, whomsoever he would, out of purgatory.

¹⁵⁶Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my doctrine? for did not Christ himself first pray for Peter, that his faith should not fail? ¹⁵⁷Also have I not a sure promise of Paul's own mouth, writing to my church in these words: "God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers?" [Rom. i.] ¹⁵⁸Wherefore, as I condemn all such worthily, who will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution; ¹⁵⁹so all they that believe not my doctrine, or who stand against the privilege of the church, especially the church of Rome, I pronounce them heretics; ¹⁶⁰and as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called a heretic. ¹⁶¹For why? he goeth against the faith, who goeth against her who is the mother of faith.

¹⁶²But here may arise, percase, a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual prayer of St. Paul; whether is it true, or is it to be granted, that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? ¹⁶³for look, whose knowledge is grounded on most

Scripture well applied, and like a clerk.

(146) P. Nicholas, Dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'

(147) P. Clement, Dist. 80. c. 'In illis.'

(148) P. Anacletus Dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'

(149) Ibidem. Quasi vero Petrus non a Petra, sed κεφαλὴ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ducatur.

(150) Dist. 21. c. 'In novo.'

(151) Ibid.

(152) Dist. 21. c. Decretis.

(153) Pope Leo dist. 19. c. 'Ita Dominus.'

(154) P. Nicholas in tantum, dist. 22.

(156) Dist. 21. c. 'Decretis.'

(157) Pope Anacletus, dist. 22. c. 'Sacrosancta.'

(158) Pope Damasus [Causa] 25. q. 1. c. 12. 'Omnia.' Item Pope Greg. Dist. 19. 'Null.'

(159) P. Nicolaus, Dist. 22. c. 'Omnes.'

(160) Ibid.

(161) Ibid.

(162) Dist. 20. 'Decretales.'

(163) Ibid.

reason, his words should seem to be of more authority. ¹⁶⁴Where- *Ecclesiastical History.*
unto I answer and grant, that many there be, and have been, more abundantly endued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Jerome, and others, ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers popes. Yet, I say, in determination of causes, because they have not the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures, they are to be preferred; but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority: by virtue of which authority, ¹⁶⁵both they themselves be allowed for doctors, and their works approved, and also all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keys, which is given to me immediately of Christ.

Although I deny not but the same keys be also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, ¹⁶⁶yet it is one thing to have the keys, another thing to have the use of the keys. ¹⁶⁷Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keys, after the mind of my school-doctors; one key which is called 'Clavis ordinis,' having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose; and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediately by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called 'Clavis jurisdictionis,' which I the vicar of Christ take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also dominion over them on whom this key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which key the fulness of my power is so great, that whereas all others are subjects, ¹⁶⁸yea and emperors themselves ought to subdue their executions to me; only I am a subject to no creature, ¹⁶⁹no, not to myself, except I list; 'in foro pœnitentiæ' to my ghostly father submitting myself as a sinner, but not as pope; so that my papal majesty ever remaineth unminished; superior to all men; ¹⁷⁰whom all persons ought to obey, ¹⁷¹and follow, ¹⁷²whom no man must judge or accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such like; ¹⁷³no man depose, but I myself. ¹⁷⁴No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicate with the excommunicated, for no canon bindeth me: whom no man must lie to, ¹⁷⁵for he that lieth to me is a church robber, ¹⁷⁶and who obeyeth not me, is a heretic, and an excommunicated person. ¹⁷⁷For, like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high priest of the Levitical order, of what state or condition soever they were, so are all christian men more and less bound to obey me, Christ's lieutenant on earth: concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Deut. xvii.; ¹⁷⁸where the common gloss saith, that he who denieth to the high priest 'obedientiam,' lieth under the sentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his 'omnipotentiam.'

Thus then it appeareth, that the greatness of my priesthood ¹⁷⁹began in Melchisedec, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the

(164) Dist. 20. 'Decretales.'

(166) Gabriel Biel, lib. iv. Dist. 19.

(168) Dist. 96. c. 11. 'Si Imperator.'

(170) P. Nicolaus, Dist. 19. c. 'Si Romanorum,' in Glossa.

(171) Item [Causa] 24. q. 1. 'Hæc est,' c. 9. 'A recta.'

(173) [Causa] 2. q. 7. c. 41. 'Nos si,' in Glossa. c. 8.

(174) Extravag. de elect. 'Innotuit.' [See Appendix.]

(175) De pœnitentia, dist. 1. [Causa 33. quæst. 3.] c. 47. 'Serpens,' in Glossa.

(176) Dist. 19. c. 'Nulli.' (177) August. de Ancho. (178) Glossa 'Ordinaris.' (179) Antoninus.

(165) Dist. 19. 'Si Romanorum.'

(167) Petrus de Palude.

(169) Gabriel. lib. iv. Dist. 19.

(172) Dist. 40. c. 'Si P'apa.'

Ecclesiastical History. children of Aaron, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, &c. So that through this pre-eminence of my priesthood, having all things subject to me, ¹⁸⁰it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ [Psalm viii.], "Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves, et universa pecora campi, volucres cœli, et pisces maris," &c. i.e. "Thou hast subdued all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all cattle of the field, the birds of heaven, and fish of the sea," &c.; ¹⁸¹where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Jews and heretics; by cattle of the field, Pagans be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my keys, but if they return, I may absolve them. ¹⁸²By sheep and all cattle are meant all christian men both great and less, whether they be emperors, princes, prelates, or others. By birds of the air you may understand the angels and potestates of heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to bind and loose in heaven, ¹⁸³and to give heaven to them that fight in my wars. ¹⁸⁴Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified the souls departed in pain or in purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Trajan out of hell, and I have power to deliver out of purgatory whom I please. ¹⁸⁵Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified such as be in purgatory, insomuch that they stand in need and necessity of other men's help, and yet be in their journey 'viatores, et de foro papæ,' that is, passengers and belonging to the court of the pope: therefore they may be relieved out of the storehouse of the church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth;" and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed of me: here I answer again by my doctors, that this word 'super terram,' &c. i.e. 'upon the earth,' may be referred two manner of ways; first to him that is the looser, so that he who shall loose shall be upon the earth; and so I grant that the pope being dead, can loose no man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed, must be upon the earth, or about the earth; and so the souls in purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth: at least they be not in heaven.

See Appendix.

Antoninus August. de Ancho. Th. l'art 4.

And because oftentimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now-a-days are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of purgatory will ask here a question, whether I be able also to empty all purgatory at once, or not? To whom my canonist Augustine doth answer by a triple distinction: "Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem." First, touching my absolute jurisdiction he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only infants unbaptized 'in limbo,' and men departed only 'cum baptismo fluminis,' that is, with the baptism of the Spirit, and such as

August. de Ancho. 'An Papa possit totum purgatorium expoliare.' Absoluta jurisdictione. Doctors agree in purgatory. August. de Ancho. Antoninus.

(180) Antoninus, Summæ majoris 3. part. [tit. 22. cap. 5.]

(182) Ibid.

(183) [Causa] 23 q. 5. c. 46. 'Omnium.'

(185) Ibid. [cap. 5. § 6.]

(181) Ibid. [cap. 5. § 8.]

(184) Idem Antoninus in ibid.

have no friends to do for them that, where-for pardons be given ; these only be excepted. For all others besides, the pope (he saith) hath power to release all purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction : albeit Thomas Aquinas (part iv.) denieth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself (he saith) when he came down, did not utterly at once release all purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the divine acceptation, that is, How God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every creature, yea, and to the pope himself.

Ecclesiastical History.

Ordinata executio : Divina acceptatio.

And to the intent I would all men to see and understand that I lack not more witnesses besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole choir of my divine clergy brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalf, in their books, tractations, distinctions, titles, glosses, and summaries, as by their own words here followeth.^{aa} The pope (say they), being the vicar of Jesu Christ through the whole world, instead of the living God, hath that dominion and lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it ‘in habitu,’ but gave it to Peter ‘in actu ;’ that is, the universal jurisdiction both of spiritual things, and also of temporal : which double jurisdiction was signified by the two swords in the gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold ; to signify not only the spiritual dominion, but also the temporal, to belong to Christ and to his vicar. For, as we read, “The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof ;” and as Christ saith, “All power is given to him both in heaven and earth :” so it is to be affirmed inclusivé, that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal ; which he took immediately of Christ : all others take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Wherefore such as say that the pope hath dominion only of spiritual things in the world, and not of temporal, may be likened to the counsellors of the king of Syria [1 Kings xx.], who said, “The gods of the mountains be their gods, and therefore they have overcome us ; but let us fight against them in the low meadows, and in valleys where they have no power, and so we shall prevail over them.” So evil counsellors now-a-days, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive kings and princes of the earth, saying : “Popes and prelates be

(aa) *An Alphabetical List of the Authorities here alluded to.*

See

Antonin. in Summulis.	Gaspar.	Ockam in dialogo, parte 1. lib. v.	<i>Addenda.</i>
Augustinus de Ancho in Decre.	Gratianus in Decretis.	Oytanus. [Heuricus Euta, sive Iota.]	
Astesanus Minorita.	Gerson, doctor illuminatissimus ecclesiastica postestate.	Petrus de Palude.	
Baptista de Salis sua.	Hugo Cardinalis in postilla.	Petrus de Tharam.	
Baptistiniana.	Hostiensis.	Petrus de Aliaco.	
Bonaventura.	Holkot.	Panormitanus Alexander de Alex.	
Campensis [Pighii] lib. controversiarum.	Hosius.	Raymundus in summa de casibus.	
Cochlæus.	Johannes Andrea.	Richardus.	
Durandus in Speculo.	Innocentius.	Rabanus, sup. Mat. cap. xvi.	
Driedo. de ecclie. Scripturis et dogmat.	Johan. de Turre Cremata de ecclesia summa.	Rupertus Tuitiensis.	
Edwardus Powellus, Anglus, contra Lutherum.	Lanfrancus contra Wiclif.	Scotus doctor subtilis.	
Eckius in Enchir.	Lilius Historicus Anglus.	Thomas Aquin.	
Franciscus.	Lupus [de Castilione].	Ulricus.	
Fulgosius.	Laurentius [de Pinu].	Waldenus, confessionale, et de Sacramentis.	
Gabriel. Biel. Spiren.	Magister sententiarum.		
	Nicolaus.		

Ecclesiastical History. gods of mountains, that is, of spiritual things only, but they be not gods of valleys; that is, they have no dominion over temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of the temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them." But let us hear what saith the sentence of God to them. "Because," saith he, "the Syrians say that the god of mountains is their god, and not the god of valleys, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord." What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord? of the Lord, I say, and of no man. For, whereas Constantine the emperor gave to Silvester, enduing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before.

And again: whereas I have given at sundry times to Ludovicus and other emperors, of my temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them: for I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me, as to their superior; and, therefore, for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the unction on their arm, I on the head. And as I am superior to them, so am I superior to all laws, and free from all constitutions; who am able of myself, and by my interpretation, to prefer equity not being written, before the law written; having all laws within the chest of my breast, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my see shall enact, approve, or disprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting, or retracting.

Such is the privilege given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the church of Rome, ¹⁸⁶ that what country soever, kingdom, or province, choosing to themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christ's faithful people in the name of Jesu, that is, in faith and charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ, his true Son, and in the Holy Ghost; having also the same creed, the same evangelists and scriptures of the apostles: yet, notwithstanding, unless their bishops and ministers take their origin and ordination from this apostolic seat, they are to be counted not of the church; so that succession of faith only, is not sufficient to make a church, except the ministers take their ordination by them who have their succession from the apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chair of Peter, keys of heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and St. Peter helping the bishopric and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith.

And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the bishop of that church is always good and holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of St. Peter, predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity. ¹⁸⁷ Yea, though he fall into homicide or

(186) Johan. Driedo. De dogmatibus variis, l. 4.

(187) Hugo, in glossa dist. 40. c. 'Non Not.'

adultery, he may sin, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Samson, the thefts of the Hebrews, the adultery of Jacob. ¹⁸⁸And likewise, if any of his clergy should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her.

Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel; in government, the ark of Noah; in patriarchdom, Abraham; in order, Melchisedec; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in seat judicial, Samuel; in zeal, Elias; in meekness, David; in power, Peter; in unction, Christ. My power (they say) is greater than all the saints; for whom I confirm, no man may infirm: I may favour and spare whom I please, ¹⁸⁹to take from one and to give to another. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do.

Nay, thou art Anti-christ!

All the earth is my diocese; and I the ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects. I am all in all, and above all, ¹⁹⁰so that God himself, and I the vicar of God, have both one consistency, ¹⁹¹and I am able to do almost all that God can do, 'clave non errante!' ¹⁹²Item, It is said of me that I have a heavenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, 'substantialia unius applicando alteri,' and of nothing to make things to be; and of a sentence that is nothing, to make it stand in effect; in all things that I list, my will to stand for reason: for I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting laws and changing them.

You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of mine own decrees. ¹⁹³Read there dist. 96. cap. 7. 'Satis.' ¹⁹⁴Also Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. 41. 'Sacerdotibus.' ¹⁹⁵Also Causa 12. q. 1. cap. 15. 'Futuram.' Do not you find there expressed, how Constantine the emperor, sitting in the general council at Nice, called us prelates of the church all 'gods'? ¹⁹⁶Again, read my canon decretal, De transl. episc. cap. 'Quanto.' Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not man, but God alone separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore, if those things that I do, be said to be done not of man, but of God; what can you make me but God? ^{aa} Again, if prelates of the church be called and counted of Constantine for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yea with the precepts of Christ: for, where Christ biddeth Peter put up his sword, and admonished his disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves, ¹⁹⁷do not I, Pope Nicholas, writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their material swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions; setting against the precept

(188) Gloss. in caus. 11. q. 3. c. 14. 'Absit.'

(189) Gloss. in caus. 11. q. 3. 'Si inimicus.'

(190) Hostiensis in c. 'Quanto de transl. præb.'

(191) Ex summa casuum fratris Baptista.

(192) Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. de fine Seculi. orat. prima. Item, ex Citatione Jacobi Andree, adversus Hossum, lib. v. Item, ex Citatione Hier. Marii in actis [secundi] Diei, p. 180: Causa xvii. q. 4. c. 30.]

(193) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 96. c. 'Satis.'

(194) [Causa] 11 q. 11. 'Sacerdotibus.'

(195) [Causa] 12. q. 1. 'Futurum.'

(196) Decretal. [Greg. IX.] de Transl. [lib. I. tit. 6.] c. 3. 'Quanto.'

(aa) Thus you may see it verified, that St. Paul propheseth, of the adversary sitting in the temple as God and boasting himself above all that is named God, &c. 2 Thess. ii.

(197) Pope Nicolaus, Causa 15, q. 6. c. 'Autoritatem.'

Ecclesiastical History. of Christ, the prophet saying, "Dissolve colligationes impietatis!" &c.

Item, whereas Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, ¹⁹⁸do not I, pope Martin, in my distinction, inhibit the spiritual clergy to be present at marriage-feasts, and also to marry themselves? Item, where matrimony, by Christ, cannot be loosed but only for whoredom, ¹⁹⁹do not I, pope Gregory junior, writing to Boniface, permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body? ²⁰⁰Item, against the express caution of the gospel, do not I, Innocent IV., permit 'vim vi repellere?' ²⁰¹Likewise, against the Old Testament, I do dispense in not giving tithes. ²⁰²Item, against the New Testament in swearing, and that in these six causes, ²⁰³Pax et fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni, defectus veri, poseunt sibi magna caveri; wherein two kinds of oaths are to be noted, whereof some be 'promissoria,' some be 'assertoria.' &c. ²⁰⁴Item, in vows, and that 'ex toto voto,' whereas other prelates cannot dispense 'ex toto a voto,' I can deliver 'ex toto a voto,' like God himself. ²⁰⁵Item, in perjury if I absolve, my absolution standeth: ²⁰⁶where also note, that in all swearing, always the authority of the superior is excepted. ²⁰⁷Moreover, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I, pope Martin, give dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the council of Tours enacted the contrary, yet with two bulls I disannulled that decreement!

²⁰⁸What should I speak of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicated? ²⁰⁹likewise against the law of nature; ²¹⁰item, against the apostles: ²¹¹also against the canons of the apostles, I can and do dispense; for where they, in their canon, command a priest for fornication to be deposed, I, through the authority of Sylvester, do alter the rigour of that constitution, ²¹²considering the minds and bodies also of men now to be weaker than they were then.

²¹³Briefly, against the universal state of the church I have dispensation, "scilicet quando status ecclesiæ non decoloratur;" and for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity; "in collateralibus æquali linea," that is, betwixt brethren's children, although not 'inæquali linea,' so that the uncle may not marry his niece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts betwixt party and party, where matrimony is not yet consummated by carnal connexion, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withal.

In summa: if ye list briefly to hear the whole number of all such cases as properly do appertain to my papal dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty points, that no man may meddle

(198) Pope Martin Dist. 34. c. 18. 'Lect. r.

(199) Pope Greg. Junior, 32. q. 7. c. 'Quod proposuisti.'

(200) Pope Inno. IV. Sext. Decret. [lib. v. tit. xi.] de sententia excom. c. 6. 'Dilecto.

(201) Pope Alexander III. [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 30.] De decimis, c. 10. 'Ex parte.

(202) Pope Nicolaus, [Causa] 15. q. 6. 'Autoritatem.'

(203) [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 6.] De elect. et elect. potestate. c. 4. 'Significasti.' in Glossa.

(204) Baptista de Salis, in Summa casuum ex Panormitano.

(205) Pope Inno. IV. [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. 6.] De elect. c. 34. 'Venerabilem.'

(206) Ext. De Jure-jurando [Decret. Greg. IX. lib. ii. tit. 21.] cap. 19. 'Venientes.' Item De Elect. 'Significasti.' in Glossa.

(207) Pope Martinus V. Extrav. [Commun. lib. iii. tit. 5.] c. 1. 'Regimini Universalis Ecclesiæ.

(208) Pope Urbanus II. Caus. 23. q. 5. c. 47. 'Excommunicatorum.'

(209) Pope Nicolaus, caus. 15. q. 6. 'Autoritatem.'

(210) Ibid.

(211) Dist. 82. c. 5. Presbyter.

(212) Pope Pelagius, Dist. 34. c. 'Fraternitatis.'

(213) Baptista de Salis, fol. *

withal but only I myself alone, I will recite them first in Latin, then in English, as they be set forth in my canonical doctors.

Ecclesiastical History.

Casus Papales LI. apud Fratrem Astesanum, sive de Ast. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, de offic. legat. reperti et his versibus comprehensi.

Si sit catholicus, Papam non judicat ullus.

Erigit et subdit cathedras; dividit, unit,

i.e. votum terræ sanctæ. i.e. degradatos. i.e. episcopos et alios.

Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se

Majores causæ referuntur. Legitimatque,

i.e. insufficientes. i.e. intrantes religionem.

Promovet, appellare vetat, prohibet profiteri.

i.e. defectum regi vacante regno.

Deponit, transfert, suppletque, renunciat illi

Symonia, juramentum, excommunicatio à Papa facta

Præsul, et exemptus. Simou, jurans, anathema,

tam Papa quam legati.

Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriusque.

i.e. solcitur Papa.

Tum neque participans: etsi quem sponte salutat,

Quem canon damnat, sibi soli quando reservat,

qui irregularitatem incurrit.

Solvitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.

scilicet, addas.

Addas suspensum, causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.

i.e. Addas.

i.e. Pluralitatem beneficiorum.

Rescriptum, fidei dubium: confert bona plura.

Irritat infectum, legem condit generalem.

i.e. Imperatorem.

Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, et ungit.

canonizat.

Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.

de aliquo facit nihil,

de nihilo aliquid.

Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper

Portat. Concedit, legi non subjacet ulli.

i.e. immediate.

Appellatur ad hunc medio sine, judiciumque

De monacho non monachum facit.

Est pro lege suum. Monachum revocat renuentem.

i.e. incestum, &c.

Majus adulterio solvit generaliter; arctat

i.e. impedimentum matrimoniale.

Et laxat quicquid sponsis nocet. Ordinatur extra

i.e. extra 4. tempora.

Tempora dando sacrum; promotum promovet idem.

Ordinatur atque die qua consecratur et ipse.

i.e. sacerdotium confert nondum vacans.

Viventisque locum concedit, jureque privat.

Insignia Episcopalia concedit. i.e. decimis eximit. i.e. presbytero concedit infantes ungere.

Insignit. Laico sacra donat; chrisma ministro.

Summa sede sedet, plenusque vicarius extat.

Si sit catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.

Cages Papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the Pope only hath power to dispense, and none else besides, except by special license from him.

First: the determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith.^a

Translation of a bishop, elect or confirmed: likewise of abbots exempted.^b

Deposition of bishops.^c

The taking of resignation of bishops.^d

Exemptions of bishops, not to be under archbishops.^e

Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.^f

The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own privileges.^g

Changing of bishoprics, or dimission of covents, &c. New correction of bishops' seats, or institution of new religions.^h

Subjection or division of one bishopric under another.ⁱ

Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.^k

Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of religion, or of holy orders.^l

Dispensation against a lawful oath, or vow made.^m

Dispensation against divers irregularities, as in crimes greater than adultery, and in such as be suspended for simony.ⁿ

Dispensation in receiving into orders him that had two wives.^o

Dispensing with such as, being within orders, do that which is above their order; as if a deacon should say mass, being not yet priest.^p

To receive into orders such as be blemished or maimed in body.^q

Dispensation for murder, or for such as willingly cut off any member of man's body.^r

Dispensation to give orders to such as have been under the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.^s

Dispensation for such as being suspended with the greater curse do minister in any holy order.^t

Dispensation for such as be unlawfully born to receive orders or benefices.^u

Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.^x

Dispensation to make a man bishop, before he be thirty years old.^y

Dispensation to give orders under age.^z

The pope only hath power to make and call a general council.^{aa}

The pope only hath power to deprive an ecclesiastical person, and give away his benefice being not vacant.^{bb}

The pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicated by name.^{cc}

The pope only is able to absolve him, whom his legate doth excommunicate.^{dd}

The pope both judgeth in the causes of them that appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may appeal from him.^{ee}

Only he hath authority to make deacon and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either upon Sundays, or upon other feasts.^{ff}

Only the pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the pall.^{gg}

The pope only dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made bishop.^{hh}

He only either confirmeth or deposeth the emperor when he is chosen.ⁱⁱ

A man being excommunicated, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolve that man but the pope alone.^{kk}

The same hath authority in any election, before it be made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.^{ll}

N. B. See the Appendix. (a) 24. q. 1. 'Quoties.'

(b) Extr. de transl. c. 'Inter.'

(c) 3. q. 6. 'Quamvis.'

(d) 6. q. 3. 'Denique.'

(e) 16. q. 1. 'Frater.'

(f) 2. q. 6. 'Ideo.'

(g) Extr. de rest. ca. 'cum venis.' 7. q. 1. 'temporis.'

(h) 16. q. 1. 'Felix.'

(i) 16. q. 1. 'Et temporis.'

(k) Extr. de voto. 'Ex multa.'

(l) Extr. de statu Monachi c. 'Cum ad.'

(m) Extr. de juramento c. 'Venientes.'

(n) Extr. de judicio, c. 'Et si clerici.'

(o) Extr. de Bigamis, c. 'nuper.'

(p) Extr. de clericis non ord. ministrante.

(q) Extr. de corpore vitiatu et di. 55.

(r) Dist. 50. 'Miror.'

(s) Extr. de sententia excom. c. 'cum illorum.'

(t) Ibid. (u) Extr. de filiis Presbyt. c. 'Nimis.'

(x) Extr. de Prebend. cap. 'de multa.'

(y) Extr. de elect. c. 'Cum nobis.'

(z) Extr. de ætate et qual. 'generalem.'

(aa) Dist. 17. 'Per tot.' (bb) 9. q. 3. 'Per principale.'

(cc) De elect. c. 'Venerabilem.'

(dd) Extr. de officio delegati, c. 'querenti.'

(ee) 9. q. 3. 'Aliorum.'

(ff) Extr. de Tempor. ordinand. c. 'Cum in distrib.'

(gg) Extr. de usu Pallii, c. 'ad honorem.'

(hh) Extr. de elect. c. 'Dudum.'

(ii) Extr. de elect. c. 'Venerabilem.'

(kk) Tractatu de censuris.

(ll) Extr. de elect. c. 'Innotuit.'

He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.^{mm}
 Dispensation to have many dignities and personages in one church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongeth only to the pope.ⁿⁿ
 To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth only to the pope.^{oo}
 To pluck a monk out of his cloister both against his own will and the abbot's, pertaineth only to the pope.^{pp}
 His sentence maketh a law.^{qq}
 The same day in which the pope is consecrated, he may give orders.^{rr}
 He dispenseth in degrees of consanguinity and affinity.^{ss}
 He is able to abolish laws, 'quoad utrumque forum;' that is, both civil and canon, where danger is of the soul.^{tt}
 It is in his dispensation to give general indulgences to certain places or persons.^{uu}
 Item, To legitimate what persons soever he please, as touching spiritualties; in all places, as touching temporalties, as honours, inheritance, &c.^{xx}
 To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules or ordinances, and ceremonies in the church.^{yy}
 He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the church.^{zz}
 Item, To dispense and to discharge any subject from the bond of allegiance, or oath made to any manner of person.
 No man may accuse him of any crime, unless of heresy; and that neither, except he be incorrigible.
 The same is also free from all laws, so that he cannot incur^{aaa} into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well.^{bbb}
 Finally he, by his dispensation, may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants; also to give lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgins, &c.^{ccc}
 These be the cases wherein I only have power to dispense, and no man else; neither bishop, nor metropolitan, nor legate, without a license from me.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heaven, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulness thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c. I will entreat now a little of my riches likewise, and great possessions, that every man may see, by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple mitres, crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships, how God there prospereth and magnifieth his vicar in the earth. For to me pertaineth first the imperial city of Rome; the palace of Lateran; the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me, Apulia and Capua be mine. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland, be they not, or ought they not to be tributaries to me?²¹⁴

To these I adjoin also, besides other provinces and countries both in the Occident and Orient, from the north to the south, these dominions by name:²¹⁵ Sorano, Monte Bardi, Luni, the isle

(mm) Extr. de reliquiis et veneratione Sanctorum [lib. 3. tit. 45.] c. 1.

(nn) Extr. de Prebend. [lib. 3. tit. 5. c. 28.] 'de multa.'

(oo) Extr. Qui fil. sint leg. [lib. 4. tit. 17. c. 6.] 'Tanta.'

(qq) Extr. de sentent. et re judic. [lib. 2. tit. 27. c. 19.] 'in causis.'

(rr) Extr. de elect. [lib. 6. tit. 28. c. 1.] 'Quod sicut.'

(ss) Extr. de restit. spol. [lib. 2. tit. 13. c. 13.] 'Literas.'

(tt) Extr. de præscript. [lib. 2. tit. 26.] cap. ult. et de judicio [lib. 2. tit. 1. c. 13.] 'Novit.'

(uu) Thomas. (xx) Extr. Qui fil. sint legit. [lib. 4. tit. 17. c. 13.] 'Per venerabilem.'

(yy) Petrus de Palude, lib. iv.

(zz) Secundum Thomam in 4. 7. q. 3. Per principalem. Dis. 40. 'Si Papa.'

(aaa) 'Incur,' fall under.—Ed. (bbb) Ibid. (ccc) Dist. 32. c. 'præter hoc' Verum.

(214) Dist. 96. Constantinus.

(215) Ex Commentariis Theoderici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus [Flacius] in Catalogo testium, fol. 228. [The editor has endeavoured to select from the best authorities the English names of the places contained in the following sentence, copied verbatim from the original. A few names, which are more difficult to explain, and distinguished with asterisks, are left in the text nearly in the form in which Foxe gives them; the Case only being altered from the accusative to the nominative. The authority upon which the alteration from ancient to modern orthography is made is principally Monsieur Baudrand. "Sorano, Montem Bardon, et Lunas insulam Corsicæ, Regium, Parmam, Mantuam, Montemselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam.

See Appendix.

Ecclesiastical History. of Corsica, Reggio, Parma, Mantua, Monselice, Venice, the duchy of Ferrara, Canelli, Canioda,* the duchy of Histria, Dalmatia, the Exarchate of Ravenna, Faenza, Cesena, Bagnacavello, Rocca, Mondigliano, Ceperano, la Cosina,²¹⁶ Imola, Rimini, Centa, Monte Feltro, Il Monte Olympe, Castel del Rio, Ruvo,²¹⁷ Gubio, Urbino, Fossombrone, Il Galli, Senigaglia, Ancona, Gosa,* the duchy of Perugia, Orvieto, Todi, Segnino, the duchy of Spoleto, Tiano, Calabria, the duchy of Naples, the duchy of Benevento, Salerno, the promontory of Loreto, Sardinia, the isle of Ansa, the territory of Cutisa,* the territory of Præneste, Silandum, Chiusi, Fondi, Terra Vegeta,* Terra Claudia,* Camerino, Fabrianese, Siros, Porto with the island Archis,* Ostia with its ports; the state of Aquino, the state of Lamentano, Civita Castellana, Fidenæ, Farento, Celano, Naples, and Gallipoli, with divers others more,²¹⁸ which Constantine the emperor gave unto me. Not that they were not mine before he did give them;²¹⁹ for in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is before mentioned), but as a restitution; and in that I rendered them again to Otho, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake.

See Appendix.

Above fifty bishoprics in Germany. Aeneas Sylvius.

What should I speak here of my daily revenues, of my first-fruits, annates, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small mass of money? inso-much that, for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was wont to be given for 10,000 florins,²²⁰ now it is grown to 27,000 florins, which I received of Jacobus the archbishop; besides the fruits of other bishoprics in Germany, coming to the number of fifty: whereby what vantage cometh unto my coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of Germany,²²¹ when the whole world is my diocese, as my canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe;²²² except they will imagine (as the Manichees do) two beginnings; which is false and heretical? For Moses saith, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and not in the beginnings.²²³ Wherefore as I began, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me.

Ducatum Histriae, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennae, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum Tiberiacus, Roccam, Mondiglianum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Arimini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capinie seu Olympicum, Castrum Exforii, Robin, Eugubin [um] Urbin [um], Forum Sempronii, Gallii, et Senogalli, Anconam, Gosam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbevctam, et Tudertum, Castrum Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Sclernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardiniam insulam, Ancie insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territorium Prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, [camerinon], Terram Fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianum, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fab[r]jensem, Terram Siram, Terram Portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum et Sufforariam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Gallipolim."—Ed.]

(216) Cusi or la Cosina.

(217) Rubi in Apulia, now Ruvo.

(218) Dist. 96, 'Constantinus.'

(219) Antoninus. In Summa majore 3. part. [tit. 22, cap. 5. § 16.]

(220) Ex lib. Gravaminum nationis Germanicæ.

(221) Sext. decret. De penis. [lib. 5. tit. 9. c. 5.] 'Felicis,' in Glossa. Item de privilegiis, [lib. 5. tit. 7. c. 4.] 'Autoritate,' in Glossa.

(222) Pope Bonifacius VIII. Extr. de Major. et obed. c. Unam sanctam.

(223) Ibid.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VII.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT
OF SATAN.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.¹

NOTES SUMMARILY COLLECTED AND REPEATED OF THINGS
DONE IN THE TIME OF KING HENRY VII.

As touching the civil state and administration of the common-wealth, and likewise of the state of the church under the reign of king Henry VII. ; how he entered first into possession of the crown ; how the two houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined through marriage with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter to king Edward IV., by the prudent counsel of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, after archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal ; how long the said king reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's word, both in the diocese of Lincoln under bishop Smith (who was crector of the house of Brazennose in Oxford), as also in the diocese of Coventry, and other places more : and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon cities and realms public, for neglecting the safety of his flock, sufficiently in the former book hath been already specified ; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the reign of this prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things which the common course and use of life may offer to the writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit others. Otherwise I might have inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Warbeck, with his retinue, A.D. 1494, also of Blackheath field by the blacksmith, A.D. 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of George Lily² in his Latin chronicle, testifying of king Henry VII., how he sent three solemn orators to pope Julius II., to yield his obedience to the see of Rome, A.D. 1506 ; and likewise how pope Alexander VI., Pius III., and Julius II., sent to the said king

Henry VIII.

*A. D.
1509.*

Perkin Warbeck who feigned himself to be king Edward's son Blackheath field.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 373. Ed. 1570, p. 935. Ed. 1576, p. 773. Ed. 1583, p. 799. Ed. 1593, p. 753. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 1.—Ed.

(2) *Chronicon Regum Angliæ*; 8vo Basilæ, 1561.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1509.

Henry VII., three sundry famous ambassadors, with three swords and three caps of maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief defender of the faith: the commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of George Lily and Fabian, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when king Henry sent to pope Julius three orators with obedience, if he had sent him three thousand harquebussiers to furnish his field against the French king fighting at Ravenna, he had pleased pope Julius much better. If George Lily had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how Ludovic XII., the French king, calling his parliament, moved this question against pope Julius, whether a pope might invade any prince by warlike force without cause, and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that pope or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the king, against the pope.¹ Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the reign of this king Henry VII.), that the Pragmatical Sanction² should be received in full force and effect through all the realm of France.

Note
God's
plagues
following
the burn-
ing of
his
people.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of George Lily, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, how, after the burning of Thomas Noris above mentioned,³ at the city of Norwich, the same year followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole city well near was therewith consumed. Like as also after the burning of the aforesaid good aged father in Smithfield the same year, A. D. 1509, we read in the chronicle of Fabian, that a great plague fell upon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof: wherein again is to be noted, as is aforesaid, that according to the state of the church the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of king Henry VII., now to the story of king Henry VIII.

Children
of king,
Henry
VII.
Marriage
of lady
Margaret
and of
lady
Mary.

This king Henry VII., finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had, by Elizabeth his wife abovenamed, four men-children, and of women-children as many; of whom three only survived, to wit, prince Henry, lady Margaret, and lady Mary: of whom, king Henry VIII. succeeded his father; lady Margaret was married to James IV., king of Scots; lady Mary was affianced to Charles king of Castile.

Prince
Arthur
marries
lady
Katharine.
His
death.
King
Henry
marrieth
lady Katharine,
his
brother's
wife.
Blind dis-
pensations
of the pope.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his eldest son had espoused lady Katharine, daughter to Ferdinand, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months he departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After his decease, the succession of the crown fell next to king Henry VIII., who, being of the age of eighteen years, entered his reign A. D. 1509, and shortly after married with the aforesaid Katharine, his late brother prince Arthur's wife, to the end that her dowry, being great, should not be transported out of the land; in the which his marriage (being more politic than scripture-like), he was dispensed with by pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued

(1) Ex Massee, lib. 20. [Edit. Antv. 1540, p. 271.]

(2) Pragmatica Sanctio, was a practising or a determination of a certain parliament in France against the bishop of Rome, in defence of certain matters of religion concluded in the council of Basil.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 126.—Ed.

with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty-eight years; during whose time and reign was great alteration of things, as well to the civil state of the realm, as especially to the state ecclesiastical and matters of the church, appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the realm the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, idolatry and superstition somewhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, abbeyes and monasteries pulled down, sects of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of the volumes here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first, we shall comprehend a few matters, which, within the beginning of his reign, are to be noted and collected: where (leaving off to write of Empson and Dudley, who, in the time of king Henry VII., being great doers in executing the penal laws over the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were, shortly after the entering of this king, beheaded, the one a knight, the other an esquire: leaving also to intermeddle with his wars, triumphs, and other temporal affairs), we mean in these volumes principally to bestow our travail in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the church and of religion, as well in this church of England, as also of the whole church of Rome.

Herein first cometh to our hands a turbulent tragedy, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the church, and now this present year, 1509, was renewed afresh between two certain orders of Begging Friars, to wit, the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they who did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars or Minorites. Their opinion was this, that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The Dominic Friars were those, who, holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or preaching friars. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremy, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two sects of friars, burst out into such a flame of parts and sides-taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church; some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin; and thereupon caused the feast and service of the conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached, that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that those who did celebrate the feast of her conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1509.Franciscan
friars.

Dominic.

Trou-
blous dis-
cussion
in the
church,
for the
concep-
tion of
the Vir-
gin Mary.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1509.

A new-found feast of the conception of the Virgin.

In the mean time, as this fantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1476, who, joining side with the Minorites or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new-found feast of the conception, in holy church for evermore : offering to all men and women, who, devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the said feast to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon as pope Urban IV., and pope Martin V., did grant for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

A new Ave Maria of the pope's making. He addeth to the words of Scripture.

Moreover the same pope, to the intent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invoke the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus : "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus Christus ; et benedicta sit Anna mater tua, de qua, sine macula, tua processit caro virginea. Amen." That is, "Hail ! Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ ; and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

Three absurdities to be noted

Wherein thou mayest note, gentle reader ! for thy learning three things : First, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there were in her no original sin, then she bare not the image of Adam, neither did she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation ; as St. Paul doth teach, Rom. v. Wherefore if she descended of that seed, then the infection of original evil must needs have proceeded unto her. If she descended not thereof, then came she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin by the doctrine of St. Paul [Rom. vi.], then had her flesh injury by the law, as Christ himself had, to suffer the malediction and punishment of death ; and so should she never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our story : This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was A.D. 1476, it was not long after but the said pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic friars with their complices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority apostolical, a bull in effect as followeth :¹

The tenor of the Pope's Bull, for the conception of the Virgin to be without original Sin.

Whereas the holy church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnizing of the feast of the conception of the blessed Virgin

(1) Sanè cum sancta Romana Ecclesia de intermatræ, sempérque virginis, &c.

Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars, in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all those who hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be heretics; and those who celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of those who do so affirm, do sin grievously: Also, not contented herewith, they do write and set forth books moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds: We, therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions as have arisen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same; and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, That the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, who shall presume to dare affirm, or preach to the people these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome; except only in the time of death.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1509.

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey Friars Franciscan, who defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominic friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side; by the vigour of which bull, the grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin every night an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these, with divers other points, be contained.

I. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.¹

II. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son, so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead thereof had the divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin, which grace only she needed, and also had it.

III. Item, That whereas the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents: who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise: which meats because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin.²

IV. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, That the Scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus; as speaking of all those who be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

V. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous; then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning by preservation.

VI. If a Saviour be taken for him who saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation; so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

VII. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

Filthy absurdities
in the
pope's
doctrine.How the
Virgin
was sub-
ject to
death,
after the
friars'
opinions

(1) Ex Jod. Clitovæo de puritate conceptionis, lib. ii.

(2) Clitovæus, lib. ii. cap. 2. ("Clitovæus," a Frenchman and canon of Chartres. His writings are enumerated in Ant. Possevinus apparatus sacer: Col. Agripp. 1608: tom. i. p. 960: see also the Autographa Lutheri aliorumque; Brunsvigæ 1690, tom. i. p. 42:—Ed.)

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1509.

Good
stuff

VIII. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for the remission of other men's sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

IX. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have reposed her soul not in the place among the patriarchs, or amongst the just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise, where Adam and Eve were, before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures.¹ So that the people were taught nothing else almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, 'the way of mercy,' 'the mother of grace,' 'the lover of piety,' the comforter of mankind,' 'the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful,' and 'an advocate to the King her Son that never ceaseth,' &c.² And although the greatest number of the school-doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter the Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and others; yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus: "Peter the Lombard," they said, "is not received nor holden in the schools as touching this article, but is rejected."³

Idolatry
to the
blessed
Virgin.Objec-
tions po-
pishly
saluted.

Bernard,⁴ although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying, that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not: to this they answer, that albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the divine presence of God, who had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord.

Again; where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy Ghost: to this they answer, that the Holy Ghost may work two ways in conception; either without company of man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived.⁵

Popish
belief and
doctrine
goeth by
time.

Bonaventure (say they) was a holy father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the public consent and authority of the church. Now, seeing the authority of the church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all men's actions diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterwards the same by law being ratified, may bind at another.⁶

Verity
consist-
eth not in
number
of voices,
nor vic-

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise, in defence of the truth, may well answer against the pope, and all his popish friars, turning their own weapons against themselves. Mul-

See
Appendix.

(1) The Grey Friars had made a picture of Joachim and Anna kissing, by which kiss Anna was conceived with Mary. Ex Rob. de Licio Minorita.

(2) Verba papæ Sexti in decret.

(1) In Epist. 2^o Lugdunens. [No. 171. § 7.]

(3) Clitoveus, lib. ii. cap. 15.

(5) Clit. lib. ii. cap. 11.

(6) Ibid.

titude," say they, "ought not to move us; victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of soldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Maccabeus, with a little handful, overthrew the great army of Antiochus. Strong Samson, with a poor ass's bone, slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these struck down terrible Goliath the giant,"¹ &c.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509.

tory in multitude of soldiers.

With these and other like reasons the grey Franciscans voided their adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original sin. Contrariwise, the black guard of the Dominic friars, for their parts, were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the others, having the see apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine got the victory triumphantly over the others, to the high exaltation of their order. For pope Sixtus, as I said, by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also, with his terrible bull, had condemned for heretics all those who withstood the same; the Dominic friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though their tongues were tied, yet their goodwill was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

The pope's side stronger than the Scriptures.

Whereupon it happened the same year, A.D. 1509, after this dissension between the Dominic friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics, thinking by subtle sleight to work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin² so artificially wrought, that the friars, by privy gins, made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Berne, in the year above-mentioned.³

Four friars burnt at Berne.

In the story of John Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appear: but in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth both in metre and prose, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne⁴ there were certain Dominic friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that order, who had inveigled a certain simple poor friar, who had newly planted himself in the cloister; whom the aforesaid friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their enchantments, and imprinting, moreover, in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered

See Appendix.

(1) Lib. eod. cap. 13.

(2) Ex Casparo Peucero [Chronicon Carionis auct. Casp. Peucero: Witeb. 1566; tom. iv. p. 330.—Ed.] Sebast. Munster. Cosmog. lib. iii. c. 10.

(3) Ex Peucer. Sebast. Munster. Carione, et aliis. In the Centuries of John Bale I find their names to be, John Vetter, Francis Ulicus, Stephen Bolzhorst, and Henry Steinegger.

(4) Ex Historia Bernensi conscripta vulgari et Latino sermone. [See also the "Tragical History of Jetzer," &c. fol. London: 1679; also "Protestant Journal," 1836, p. 124.—Er.]

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1509.

him a red host consecrated with the blood also of Christ miraculous ; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin ; and that the Franciscan friars were not to be credited, nor suffered in the city, who were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, that they should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary (which image the friars by engines had made to sweat), and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people ; so that a great while the red-coloured host was undoubtedly taken for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and states for a great relie ; and that, not without great recompense. Thus the deceived people in great numbers came flocking to the image, and to the red host and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans, seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings (for as the proverb saith, “ It is ill, halting before a cripple ”), cftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the provincial of that order was one.

Friars
neither
can agree
with
them-
selves,
nor yet do
disagree
but in
vain
trifles.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy, wherein evidently it may appear to the reader, how neither these turbulent friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friars pass with their trifling fantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men, in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ’s people so attentive, and occupied in such friary toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary : but of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, &c., no mention, or very little, was heard. Wherefore in this so blind a time of darkness it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his church, and send down his gracious reformation, which also he did : for shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther, of whom the order of story now requireth that we should, and will entreat (Christ willing), after the story of Richard Hun, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

Pope Ju-
lius play-
eth the
warrior.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of pope Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the council of Tours in France, A. D. 1510, and yet all this

could not assuage the furious affection of this pope, but the same year he invaded the cities of Modena and Mirandola in Italy, and took them by force of war. This pope Julius not long after, A.D. 1512, refusing peace offered by Maximilian the emperor, was encountered by Louis the French king about Ravenna, upon Easter-day, where he was vanquished, and had of his army slain to the number of sixteen thousand.¹ And the year next following, A.D. 1513, this apostolical warrior, who had resigned his keys unto the river Tiber before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the see of Rome, pope Leo X. ; about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in states temporal, as especially in the state of the church.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509.

The pope overcome in battle.

The death of pope Julius.

The State and Succession of Princes.

			YEARS
Pope Leo X., in Rome	A.D. 1513	reigned	9
Charles V., emperor of Germany	1519		39
Francis, king of France	1515		32
Henry VIII., king of England	1509		38
James V., king of Scotland	1514		29

In the time of which pope, emperor, and kings of England, France, and Scotland, great alterations, troubles, and turns of religion were wrought in the church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe ; such as have not been seen (although much groaned for) many hundred years before : as in further discourse of this history, Christ willing, shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of Richard Hun, and certain other godly minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christ's gospel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of R. Carket, citizen of London.

THE HISTORY OF DIVERS GOOD MEN AND WOMEN, PERSECUTED FOR RELIGION IN THE CITY AND DIOCESE OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON ; BRIEFLY EXTRACTED OUT OF THE REGISTERS OF RICHARD FITZJAMES.

See Appendix.

Amongst and besides the great number of the faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly, in the strength of the Holy Ghost, gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find recorded in the register² of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1527, the names of divers other persons, both men and women, who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversely troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same. Notwithstanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholic seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature (not then fully strengthened in God), it was again

A.D. 1509 to 1518.

(1) Ex Chron. Carion.

(2) Ex Registris Fitzjames.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1509
to
1518.The profession
of the Pro-
testants
no new
doctrine.

in them for the time suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London (in his time a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church), or else before his vicar-general, deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the adversaries of God's truth have of late days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their public assemblies, and yet do, asking, Where this our church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years? I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith (though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all), as also by the way something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

A. D. 1510. ¹	Thomas Austy.	John Wikes.
Joan Baker.	Joan Austy.	John Southake.
William Pottier.	Thomas Grant.	Richard Butler.
John Forge.	John Garter.	John Samme.
Thomas Goodred.	Christopher Ravins.	A. D. 1521.
Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.	Dyonise Ravins.	William King.
Thomas Forge.	Thomas Vincent.	Robert Durdant.
Alice Forge.	Lewis John.	Henry Woolman.
John Forge, their son.	Joan John.	Eduund Spilman.
William Cowper.	A. D. 1512.	A. D. 1523.
John Calverton.	John Webb, alias Baker.	John Higgess, alias Noke, alias Johnson.
John Woodrof.	A. D. 1517.	A. D. 1526.
A. D. 1511.	John Houshold.	Henry Chambers.
Richard Woolman.	Robert Rascal.	John Higgins.
Roger Hilliar.	A. D. 1518.	A. D. 1527.
Alice Cowper.	Elizabeth Stanford.	Thomas Egleston.
	George Browne.	

THE PARTICULAR EXAMINATION OF ALL THOSE ABOVE NAMED
HERE FOLLOWETH.

To these were divers and sundry particular articles (besides the common and general sort accustomedly used in such cases) privately objected; even such as they were then accused of either by their curate, or others their neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process, I mind therefore briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest; being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometimes they were charged, most slanderously, with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God; which as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake,

(1) Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames.

as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation. But to our purpose.

Joan Baker and thirty-nine others.

The chief objections against Joan Baker were as follows: That she would not only herself not reverence the crucifix, but had also persuaded a friend of hers, lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead images, which be but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other idols. Also, that she did hold opinion, that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the lady Young (who was not long before that time burned) died a true martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she herself might do no worse than the said lady Young had done.

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1509

to

1518.

Against worshipping of the crucifix or cross.

Testimony for the lady Young, martyr.

Unto William Pottier, besides divers other false and slanderous articles (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's passion) it was also alleged as under: That he should affirm there were six Gods: the first three were the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the Devil; and the sixth, that thing that a man setteth his mind most upon.

William Pottier.

False slander of the adversaries.

The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity. As to the other three he answered, that a priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his God: likewise a wicked person, persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his God: and lastly, he granted, that he once, hearing of certain men, who by the singing and chattering of birds would seek to know what things were to come either to themselves or others, said, That those men esteemed their birds as gods; and otherwise he spake not.

Answer.

Amongst the manifold and several articles objected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alice Forge his wife, John Forge their son, John Calverton, John Woodrof, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar (as that they should speak against pilgrimages, praying unto saints, and such like), this principally was propounded: That they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their teachers and instructors in that doctrine, and had not, according to the laws of the church, accused and presented them unto the bishop or his ordinary.

Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, and others.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence

Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against Richard Woolman, for that he termed the church of Paul's a house of thieves, affirming, that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there were not liberal givers unto the poor (as they ought to be) but rather takers-away from them of what they could get.

Likewise as Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Grant,

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1509
to
1518.

John Garter, Christopher Ravins, Dyonise Ravins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Webb, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with divers of the last before recited; so were they almost all apprehended about one time, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament: which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the papists make now greatest vaunt, and brag of longest continuance.

Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English books repugning the faith of the Romish church, as the four Evangelists, Wickliff's Wicket, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide. And good cause why: for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

Holy-days.

Against pilgrimages, and adoration of images.

It was further particularly objected against Joan John, the wife of Lewis John, that (besides the premises) she learned and maintained, that God commanded no holy days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but it; nor any fasting days, affirming, that to fast from sin, was the true fast. Moreover, that she had despised the pope, his pardons and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked an alms of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would strait answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, "The Lady of Walsingham help thee:" and if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, "Take this in the worship of our Lady in heaven, and let the other go." Which declareth, that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true saints of God departed, though otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortness' sake at this present omitted), I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtlety of those, who, in this bright shining light of God's truth, would yet, under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of images in the church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead images, but the things that the images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people thus openly, in their recantations, to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented; which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example), in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped? Howbeit, God be thanked (who ever in his mercy continue it!) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them for order of religion.

It was alleged against William Cowper, and Alice Cowper his wife, as follows : That they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping of images ; but chiefly the woman, who, having her child, on a time, hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and being earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbours to go on pilgrimage to St. Laurence for help for her child, said, That neither St. Laurence, nor any other saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hand, but only to Almighty God ; for pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the priests rich.

Henry VIII.
A.D.
1509
to
1518.

Against invocation of dead images.

Unto John Houshold, Robert Rascal, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and others of his clergy. But especially John Houshold was charged to have called them antichrists and fornicators, and the pope himself a strong strumpet, and a common scandal unto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all christian realms ; and that for money.

Against transubstantiation and authority of the pope.

†

Also among divers other ordinary articles propounded against George Browne, these were counted very heinous and heretical : First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that the same was a hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure ; alleging for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that gallows or water, by which his friend died, rather worse for that, than better. Another objection was, that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are their words), that the church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel that they counted it erroneous and malicious ; for take away their gain, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to have refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against priests, with other vain matters.

George Browne.

Against adoration of the cross.

Immoderate riches of the pope's clergy.

The greatest matter wherewith they burdened John Wikes was, that he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected of heresy (as they termed them), and had received them into his house, and there did suffer and hear them sundry times read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish church ; and did also himself consent unto their doctrine, and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

John Wikes.

Like as the greatest number of those before-mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. Howbeit they burdened the last five persons with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists, to be of

John Southake, Richard Butler, and others.
Against the real presence

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1509
to
1518.

that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler; the very words of which article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to insert, which are these:

‘Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant’s house of Iver-court, near unto Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant’s, all that same night, certain chapters of the evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King,¹ and divers other suspected persons of heresy, then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions.’

To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four; whereby (as also by other like ones before specified) we may easily judge what reverence those, who yet will be counted the true and only church of Christ, did bear to the word and gospel of Christ; who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy Ghost, in sundry places of the Scripture, doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, who shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else (for the peace and quietness of his church) he would, in his righteous judgment, take them from us.

Death of
Richard Fitz-
james,
bishop of
London.
Cuthbert
Tunstall.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life, after whose death Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London; who soon, upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman, priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like articles as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and the rigour of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises (such was their weakness), he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed faith touching the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood; which was, that Christ’s corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven; and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

The real
pre-ence
denied.

Against
priests to
have two
benefices.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against John Higgess, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said bishop’s vicar-general, amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four evangelists in English, and did often read therein;

Testi-
mony.

(1) Of these men see more hereafter in the table following, page 221.

and that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing, that Luther had more learning in his little finger, than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he was alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and alms-deeds could little help him.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1509
to
1518.
for
Luther.

These and such like matters were those wherewith these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant: and some of them, in utter shame and reproach (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon) were enjoined for a penance, as they termed it, as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment; and that, during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous, and open punishing of them, they meant, as it should seem, utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel do most joyfully declare.

The
manner
of popish
penance.

There were also troubled, besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant, who, having but a very small smack or taste of the truth, did yet at first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but, being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst these I find two especially; the one a woman called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed herself unto the priest, nor yet received the sacrament of the altar by the space of four years; and notwithstanding, had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other christian people.

The troubles of
Ellen
Heyer
and
Robert
Berke-
way.

The other was a man named Robert Berkeway, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr, Thomas Becket, calling him *micher*¹ and thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthly vessels; not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections: but, leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought only to make manifest the unsupportable bloody cruelty of the pope's kingdom against the gospel and true church of Christ; nothing mitigating their envious rage, no, not against the very simple idiots; and that sometimes in most frivolous

(1) "*Micher*," a thief or pilferer.—*Todd's Johnson*.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A.D.

1509

to

1513.

and irreligious cases. But now, leaving to say any further herein, I will, by God's grace, go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting, and John Brewster.

In searching and perusing of the register, for the collection of the names and articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who, after they had once showed themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred Word), became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before; and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of this number were William Sweeting, and John Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the 18th day of October, A. D. 1511.

Against
transub-
stantia-
tion and
corporal
presence.

Cruel ri-
gour of
the ca-
tholic
clergy
against
the
professors
of the
gospel.

The chief case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which, because it differed from the absurd, gross and Capernaical opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one, named Sweeting, being for fear of the bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poor living, came at length unto Colchester, where, by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalen, he was provoked to be the holy water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (who was Brewster) left off his at the commandment of the comptroller of the earl of Oxford's house, who, hiring the poor man to labour in the earl's household business, would not suffer him, working there, to wear that counterfeited cognizance any longer: so that, as I said, necessity of living seemeth to compel both of them at first to break that injunction. And therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy, as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be brought against them for an article, and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as also all human reason and duties, are quite forgotten.

Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet, as they term it, fell again into relapse, they were both, as you have heard, in the end

burned together in Smithfield; although the same parties, as the register recordeth, did again, before their death, fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the registers' notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge hereof unto the Lord (who is the trier of all truths), and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet reader: not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report should be true) upon so just an occasion, to charge that catholic clergy, and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before: for if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies; what favour may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ (whose true and only church they so stoutly brag to be), who in Luke xvii. saith, "Though thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgive him." But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the rule and counsel of Him, unto whose word and gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, I will leave them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord.

Hereunto let us now adjoin the story of one John Browne, a good martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford about this fourth year of king Henry VIII., whose story hereunder followeth.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Submission
would not
be taken
of the
charitable
catholics.

No mercy
in the
pope's
church.

See
Appendix.

John Browne, Martyr.

The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being at the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the priest asked him; "Dost thou know," said he, "who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes." "No, sir," said he, "I know not what you are." "I tell thee I am a priest." "What, sir! are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he again, "I am a soul-priest, I sing for a soul," saith he. "Do you so, sir?" quoth the other, "that is well done; I pray you sir," quoth he, "where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how can you then have the soul?" said he. "Go thy ways," said the priest, "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More, and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the archbishop Warham. Hereupon the said John Browne within three days

(1) This John Browne was father to Richard Browne, who was in prison in Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of queen Mary, but that by the proclaiming of queen Elizabeth they escaped. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.
A.D.
1509
to
1518.

after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went,¹ nor whither he should: and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitsunday (his wife not knowing all this while where he was) he was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A. D. 1517. The same night, as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he, declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, "to make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me." "I pray thee," said he, "therefore, good Elizabeth! continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God." And so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands:

John Browne burned in Ashford about the fourth year of Henry VIII.

'O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
 Grant me mercy for my trespass;
 Let never the fiend my soul chase.
 Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
 Let never my soul come in hell-heat.'

Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth.'

And so he ended.²

At the fire one Chilton, the baily-arrant, bade cast in Browne's children also, for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr, John Browne, had borne a faggot seven years before, in the days of king Henry VII.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malice the prosperous estate of the saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet, at the leastwise, by some subtle practice of secret murder; which thing doth most plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's church, mentioned in this book, but also and especially in the discourse of this lamentable history that now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murdering of Richard Hun, whose story here consequently ensueth, decerped and collected partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament-house.

(1) Chilton of Wye, a baily-arrant, and one Beare of Willesborough, with two of the bishop's servants, set him upon the horse, and so carried him away.

See Appendix.

(2) Ex testimonio Alicie Browne, ejus filie, cujus mariti nomen dicebatur Strat. in parochia St. Pulcri.

The Story of Richard Hun, Martyr.'*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1514.

There was in the year of our Lord 1514, one Richard Hun, merchant-tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good catholic man. This Richard Hun had a child at nurse in Middlesex, in the parish of St. Mary Matfilon, which died; by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dryfield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hun in the spiritual court, for a bearing-sheet, which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly to have of the said Hun, for a mortuary for Stephen Hun, son of the said Richard Hun; which Stephen being at nurse in the said parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hun answered him again, That forasmuch as the child had no propriety in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loath to lose his pretended right, ascited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter: whereupon the said Richard Hun, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of præmunire against the said Thomas Dryfield, and others his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen. Which when the rest of the priestly order heard of, greatly disdain- ing that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them, and fearing also, that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hun, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such like cases, they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him for that he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. And thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of heresy unto Richard Fitzjames then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains), caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollards' tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him. Thus Richard Hun, being clapt in the Lollards' tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's gospel), was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December, in the year before mentioned, where, within his chapel, he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices:

The des-
piteful
demean-
our of the
pope's
holy ca-
tholics to
be noted.

Hun com-
mitted to
Lollards'
tower.

Articles objected against Richard Hun.

I. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God, that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

(1) The strenuous and successful efforts made by the leaders of the Popish party, and the disgraceful exposures which ensued, render the history of Richard Hun one of the most interesting on record.—ED.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1514.

II. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that bishops and priests be the Scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.

III. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c., that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God; but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

IV. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies (as it appeareth by her abjuration), the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.

V. Item, afterwards, where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits, the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, 'The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God: wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.'

VI. Item, That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wickliif's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

See
Appendix.

This
answer
smelleth
of forging
and crafty
packing.

Argu-
ments
and rea-
sons
proving
this an-
swer not
to be of
Hun.

Particular answer unto these several objections in the register I find none, saving that next under them there is written in his name, with a contrary hand, these words following: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid; howbeit unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same, for which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me to my lord's charitable and favourable correction;" which they affirm to be written with Hun's own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the reader indifferently judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the charitable and favourable correction of the bishop (for which, even by their own law, in cases of most heinous heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned); except perhaps they will account horrible murder to be but the bishop's favourable correction. Again, it seems they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing; for the registrar, or some other for him, appointed to record the same, hath certified it as of hearsay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of the book, adjoining to the aforesaid answer, plainly do declare, which are these: "*Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Ricardi Hunne, ut dicitur.*" Now if he had any sure ground to establish this certificate, I doubt not but he would, instead of "*ut dicitur,*" have registered the names of the assistants at the time of his examination (which he confesseth to be many), as generally they do in all their acts, especially in cases of heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let, as I said, the indifferent judgment of the godlywise discern.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day unto the Lollards' tower; and then, by the appointment of Dr.

Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph the sumner, unto John Spalding the bellringer, a man by whose simpleness in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, by his ministers suborned, within two nights next then following accomplish, as is plainly proved hereafter, by the diligent inquiry, and final verdict of the coroner of London and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief; and therefore the next morning, after they had in the night committed this murder, Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his master chancellor) gat himself out of the way into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy who accustomedly did use to carry Hun his meat and other necessities that he needed: thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might by his relation be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished; for the boy, the same morning (being the 4th day of December), having the keys delivered to him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten o'clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged, with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the chancellor, being then in the church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose for such news; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved; although then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hun had desperately hanged himself.¹ Howbeit the people having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather, that by their procurement he was secretly murdered.

Hereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London, on the one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hun had hanged himself. The citizens again, on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter; whereby the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts: and therefore, minding by some subtle show of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that in the meanwhile, as the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should for his part proceed 'ex officio,' in case of heresy against the dead person: supposing,

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1514.

Crafty packing of the murdering papists.

Secret conveyance of the murdering of Hun.

Horsey the chancellor craftily practiseth.

The death of Hun suspected by the Londoners.

The coroner sitteth on the death of Hun.

(1) "Sed justissimus Dei Omnipotentis oculus, ubique præsens, rerumque omnium et testis et vindex, ut falli nullis potuit latebris, ita nec latere voluit tam sceleratam in virum probum, et innocentem crudelitatem. Nam præterquam quod Carolus ipsemet, scelcris minister, non potuit non ream conscientiam Julianæ ancillæ suæ patefacere, tum præter ancillæ hujus confessionem accessit insuper multiplex ex variis conjecturis existimatio." &c. See the Latin Edition; Basle, 1559, p. 120 — Ed.

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1514.*

most likely, that if the party were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth :

*Dr. Hed
promoter
of the
dead.*

First, besides the articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected against him in his life-time, Dr. Hed did now also after his death collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the bishop's hands, which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose ; as appeareth by the tenor of the articles, which are these :

New Articles commenced against Hun after his Death.

I. First, The said book damneth all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and uncunning, and calleth the pope Satan, and Anti-christ.

II. Item, It damneth the pope's pardons, saying they be but leasings.

III. Item, The said book of Hun saith, that kings and lords, called christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law, that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

IV. Item, The said book saith, that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes ; by which he meaneth the holy canons of Christ's church.

V. Item, That poor men and idiots have the truth of the holy Scriptures, more than a thousand prelates, and religious men, and clerks of the school.

VI. Item, That christian kings and lords set up idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.

VII. Item, That princes, lords, and prelates so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ.

VIII. Item, That every man, swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints than to the Holy Trinity ; and so he saith they be idolaters.

IX. Item, He saith that saints ought not to be honoured.

X. Item, He damneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

XI. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it, shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

XII. Item, He damneth the university of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as art, civil, canon, and divinity ; saying, that they hinder the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and holy Scripture.

XIII. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and the holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother, holy church.²

These articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused, for a more show of their pretended justice and innocency, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the preacher at Paul's Cross, with this protestation made before.

'Masters and friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, show, and publish here unto you, the articles of heresy

(1) Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames, Lond.

(2) A 'holy mother church' which cannot abide the word of God to be translated¹

upon which Richard Hun was detected and examined: and also other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy contained in some of his books, which be come to light and knowledge here ready to be shown.'

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1514.

And therewith he read the articles openly unto the people, concluding with these words:

'And masters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialty of these articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this book or not, for satisfying of his mind let him come to my lord of London, and he shall see it with good will.

The
bishop's
publica-
tion at
Paul's
Cross
against
Hun.

'Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any persons that of their simpleness have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hun in these articles, or have heard him read upon this book, or any other sounding to heresy, or have any like books themselves, let them come unto my lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably treated and dealt withal, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saved: and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the process of the law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigour of the law be executed against them.'

After which open publication and admonition, the bishop at sundry times examined divers of his priests, and other lay-persons, upon the contents of both these articles. Among which examiners there was a man-servant and a maid of the said Hun's, who, although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy of reprehension, no, not in such points as the bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first articles, and some in the second. Wherefore having now, as they thought, sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation; and because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certain short and summary rules,¹ by which the bishop should be directed in this solemn session, which are these:

I. First, Let the bishop sit in his tribunal-seat in our lady's chapel.

II. Secondly, Let him recite the cause of his coming, and take notaries to him, to enact what shall be there done.

III. Thirdly, Let him declare, how upon Sunday last, at Paul's Cross, he caused to be published a general monition or denunciation, that all fautors and maintainers of Richard Hun should come in as by this day, and submit themselves: and let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

Mark the
manner of
this pro-
ceeding.

IV. Fourthly, Let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind, who have not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation, yet if they will come and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

V. Fifthly, Let the bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the articles objected against Richard Hun in the time of his life, and then the other articles likewise, which were out of his great book of the Bible extracted.

VI. Sixthly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hun summarily be recited, with the attestations made to the same articles. Also let his books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brooke, his servant, be called for.

VII. Seventhly, Let it be openly cried at the choir door, that if there be any who will defend the articles, opinions, books, or the memory of the said

Henry
VIII.

1514.

Richard Hun, let them come and appear, and they shall be heard as the law in that behalf shall require.

VIII. Eighthly, Let it be openly cried, as in manner before, for such as be receivers, favourers, defenders, or believers of the said Richard Hun, that all such do appear and submit themselves to the bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the law in that behalf.

IX. Ninthly, Let the bishop speak to the standers-by, and to those of the clergy who sit with him upon the bench, demanding of them, what their judgment and opinion is touching the premises? and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the sentence against the said Richard Hun, in this part to be awarded?

X. Tenthly, After their consent and counsel given, let the bishop read out the sentence.

XI. Finally, After the sentence read, let the bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the aforesaid sentence to be read at Paul's Cross, or elsewhere, as to him shall seem expedient; with a citation likewise generally against all those that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the said Hun, to give to understand why he ought not further to proceed against them, &c.

A SOLEMN PROCESS OF FITZJAMES, BISHOP OF LONDON, AGAINST HUN, BEING DEAD.

See
Appendix.

Now according to the tenor of these prescripts and rules, the bishop of London, accompanied with the bishops of Durham and Lincoln and his own suffragan, Dr. John Young, titular bishop of Callipolis, sat in judgment the 16th day of December then next following, within the place by the same appointed; adjoining also unto them, as witnesses of their proceedings, six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests of name, with a great rabble of other common anointed catholics: where, after a solemn proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hun, they should presently appear and be heard according to law, he commanded all the articles and objections against Hun openly to be read before the assembly: and then, perceiving that none durst appear in his defence, by the advice of his assistants he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcase, condemning it of heresy; and therewith committed the same unto the secular power, to be by them burned accordingly. This ridiculous decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield on the twentieth day of the same month of December (being full sixteen days after they had thus horribly murdered him) to the great grief and disdain of all the people. And because the bishop, in his sentence definitive, useth a more formal and ample order of words than accustomably is used in others, and also pretendeth full hypoentically in the beginning, as it were by way of induction, divers causes that moved him to proceed against the dead carcase; I thought good therefore here to adjoin the same, as a final conclusion of their crafty coloured tragedy, the tenor whereof is hereunder written.¹

The
corse of
Hun
burned
after his
death.

(1) *The sentence definitive against Richard Hun after his death.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente sacra synodo, et generali prælatorum et cleri provincie Cantuariensis convocatione, in ecclesia nostra cathedrali sancti Pauli London, per prælatos et clerum provincie Cantuariensis, actualiter ibidem exercita) contigisset, quod quidam Richardus Hunne de parochia sancte Margarete in Brige-strete Lond. de et super crimine hæreticæ pravitatis notatus et diffamatus extitisset: reverendissimus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Willielmus misericordie divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, apostolicæ sedis legatus, ipsius venerabilis cætus et convocationis caput et præsident, ex vehementibus et violentis (quas contra eundem Richardum Hunne super hæreticæ pravitate tunc habebat) presumptionibus contra eundem Richardum debitam facere inquisitionem cupiens, ut

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, and their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. Insomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the king's privy-council (his majesty himself being sometimes present), and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and borne withal by the clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof, and sufficient evidence, that Dr. Horsey the chancellor, Charles Joseph the summer, and John Spalding the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder; and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto cardinal Wolsey (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned), means were found, that at the next sessions of gaol-delivery the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Dr. Horsey to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the murder; who, being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, gat him unto Exeter, and durst never after for shame come again unto London. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain unto all men's eyes, here shall follow, word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by

Henry
VIII.

1514.

Dr. Horsey
chancellor,
Charles
Joseph
and
Spalding,
murderers
of
Richard
Hun.

(si ratione hæresis hujusmodi membrum fuisset à corpore Christi mystico præcisum) ipsum ad caput et corpus (id est, Christum, sanctæque matris ecclesiæ unitatem) per salutaria monita et condignam penitentiam revocaret et reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter simplices et devotas Christi fidelium et catholicorum animas coerrando, et zizania hæretica seminando, fidelium mentes macularet et inficeret, et sinistris ac perversis assertionibus et opinionibus, à veritatibus semita et vera fide Christiana aberrare faceret; ad effectum citandi eum ad comparandum coram dicto reverendissimo patre et domino archiepiscopo, suisque coepiscopis et suffraganeis, cæterisque illius concionis sive sacre synodi prælatis, super præmissis responsurum perquiri fecit et mandavit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Unde dictus reverendissimus Pater suum tam pium, tam sanctum et laudabile propositum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permissione divina Londinensis episcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius, (cui etiam tanquam de hæresi suspectus, idem Richardus à multis retroactis temporibus delatus et detectus extiterat) intelleximus, non volentes nec audientes prædicta facinora silentio et conniventibus oculis pertransire et prætermittere, ne ob nostram negligentiam et torporem sanguis ejus in districto examine, sive Dei judicio, de manibus nostris requiratur, volentes certiorari et informari an ea quæ de ipso et contra eum nobis delata et dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcitur, et an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortasse ovis morbida extstens, innocuas animas gregis domini pestifera hæresi corrumpere et inficeret, ad informandum animum nostrum, ipsum coram nobis vocandum, et super præmissis diligenter interrogandum et examinandum, omniaque faciendum, quæ secundum canonicas sanctiones erant facienda (ejus animam pio et paterno zelantes affectu), descendimus et properavimus: contra quem objectis judicialiter et propositis publicè in judicio articulis, de et super quibus nobis (ut præfertur) delatus, detectus, et notatus fuerat (quos per venerabilem virum magistrum Johannem Downam hic publicè jam lectos, pro hic lectis et insertis habemus et haberi volumus): habitis et receptis ad eosdem articulos responsionibus et confessionibus suis; deinde testes fide dignos de et super eisdem articulis et aliis contra dictum Richardum in debita juris forma recepimus, admisimus, et diligenter examinari fecimus; propositoque nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem divi Pauli, ejus detestabiles hæreses et errores, in articulis et libris suis, quibus usus est, comprehensas, in ejus et ipsorum detestationem et damnationem publicantes, atque publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidem tunc congregato, notificavimus et intimavimus: Quod isto die contra eundem Richardum, tanquam contra hæreticum, ad ipsiusque condemnationem et excommunicationem in specie, ad aliæque in hac parte requisita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptatorum, defensorum, fautorum, et credentium ipsis in genere, juxta canonicas sanctiones, sanctorum patrum decreta, et omnem juris vigorem et dispositionem, Deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionemque sive denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus et fecimus tunc ibidem, videlicet, quòd si qui fuerint ejus receptatores, defensores, fautores, et credentes, quòd citra hunc diem ad nos et sanctæ matris ecclesiæ gremium redirent, et se submitterent: quòd si facerent (de misericordia omnipotentis Dei confisi), polliciti sumus quòd ipsos de erroribus et reatibus suis hujusmodi penitentes, cum gratia, benignitate, misericordia, et favore, ad animarum suarum solatium et salutem reciperemus, quodque honestatem eorum pro posse servavimus in hac parte. Alioquin si sic sponte venire non curarent, sed juris ordinarium processum expectarent; scirent nos hoc admissum adversus eos severius executuros, in quantum jura permitterent. Adveniente itaque jam die isto, ad præmissa et infra scripta facienda, sic ut præfertur, per nos præfixo, nos Richardus episcopus antedictus, in negotio inquisitionis hæreticæ prædictæ prædictæ legitime procedentes, volentesque hujusmodi negotium sine dubio terminare, solemne concilium tam in sacra theologia facultate, quam jure canonico et civili doctorem, et tunc venerabilem certum cleri et populi coram nobis fecimus congregari; et visis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligenter et matura deliberatione discussis meritis et circumstantiis

Henry
VIII.

1511.

them unto the coroner of London, and so given up and signed with his own hand.

THE VERDICT OF THE INQUEST.

The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII., William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year abovesaid, within the ward of Castle-Baynard of London, assembled a quest, whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to inquire of the death of one Richard Hun, which lately was found dead in the Lollers' tower within Paul's church of London: whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kemmed, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyen and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any drivelling or spurning in any place of his body: Whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the dead body of the said Hun, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose: whereby, by good advisement, we perceived that the girdle had no knot above the staple, but it was double-cast; and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang; Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils two small streams of blood to the quantity of four drops. Save only these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hun were clean from any blood. Also we find that the skin both of his neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fret and failed away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also the hands of the said Hun were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound.

Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby a man

negotii memorati, actisque et actitatis in eodem productis et deductis prædictorum digesto et maturo consilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor seu defensor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, et memoriam defendere velit), solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes ad sententiam nostram contra eum, ejus opiniones et libros, receptatoresque, fautores, defensores, et credentes, se nobis juxta tenorem et formam monitionis et denunciationis nostrarum prædictarum minime submittentes, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ redire curantes, licet quidam salvationis pii filii intra monitionem et denunciationem nostras prædictas ad nos venerunt, et se submiserunt, quos cum gratia et favore recepimus, in hac parte ferendam sic duximus procedendum et procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquisita, deducta, confessata, et probata, necnon per vehementes et urgentes præsumptiones, et judicia perspicua comperimus luculenter, et invenimus dictum Richardum Hunne crimine hæreticæ pravitatis multiplex iteritum, atque hæreticum fuisse et esse, nonnullasque opiniones et assertiones detestabiles et hæreses damnatas, dum in humanis ageret, et vitales carperet auras, affirmasse, proposuisse, et recitasse, librisque suspectis, et de jure damnatis, et nonnullas hæreses pestiferas in se continentibus usum fuisse, receptisque, admissis et examinatis testibus per commissarios ad hoc deputatos de et super impenitentia finali, pertinacia, et obitu dicti Richardi Hunne: Idecirco nos Richardus episcopus antedictus, servatis servandis (prout in tali negotio postulat ordo juris), dicti Richardi Hunne impenitentia ac finali obstinatio et pertinacia, per evidentiâ signa testibus legitimis, vehementissimis et violentis præsumptionibus comprobatis, prout jam coram nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem divi Pauli, die dominico ultimo præterito, ad audiendum per nos ferendam sententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publicè facto et proposito: propterea de hujus venerabilis cætus (videlicet, reverendorum patrum, dominorum Thomæ Duncelmensis, et Wilhelmi Lincolnensis, ac Johannis Calipolensis, episcoporum, necnon in sacra theologia, decretorum, et legum doctorum, et clerici, atque proborum et venerabilium virorum, domini majoris, aldermanorum, et vicecomitem civitatis Londinensis, et populi hie congregatorum, et nobis in hac parte assidentium et assistantium) consensu, assensu, et consilio, eundem Richardum Hunne diversarum hæresum libris, dum vixit, usum fuisse, ac notorium et pertinacem impenitentem hæreticum fuisse, ac in hæresidecessisse, atque conscientia criminis et metu future sententiæ, animo pertinaci et impenitenti, corde indurato obisse et decessisse, præmissorumque prætextu de jure excommunicatum fuisse et esse, atque in excommunicatione hujusmodi decessisse, ipsiusque receptatores, fautores, defensores, et credentes, etiam in genere de jure excommunicatos, atque sententiâ majoris excommunicationis innodatos et involutos fuisse et esse pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus: ipsum Richardum Hunne et libros suos hæreticos de jure damnatos, suamque ac librorum ipsorum memoriam in detestationem et damnationem sceleris et criminis hujusmodi, condemnamus: dictumque Richardum Hunne (ob præmissa), ecclesiastica carere debere sepultura sententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus, et in foro ecclesiastico tanquam membrum putridum projicimus, corpusque suum et ossa brachio et potestati seculari relinquimus et committimus, juxta et secundum canonicas et legitimas sanctiones, consuetudinesque laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo usitatas et observatas, in opprobrium sempiternum et detestationem criminis nefandissimi prædicti, ad æternamque hujus rei memoriam, cæterorumque Christi fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc nostram sententiam, sive finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

(a) What final obstinacy was in him, when you say before, that by his own hand-writing he submitted himself to the bishop's favourable correction? [See p. 181. — Ep.]

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1514.*

might hang himself, but only a stool; which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, that it was not possible that Hun might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of Hun's jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folded down thereupon; which thing the said Hun could never fold nor do after he was hanged: whereby it appeareth plainly to us all, that the neck of Hun was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed, before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hun was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hun of his own death.

Also there was an end of a wax-candle, which, as John the bellringer saith, he left in the prison burning with Hun that same Sunday night that Hun was murdered; which wax-candle we found sticking upon the stocks, fair put out, about seven or eight foot from the place where Hun was hanged, which candle, after our opinion, was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived.

Also at the going up of master chancellor into the Lollards' tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of murrey,¹ or crimson in grain, furred with shanks: whose gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, all we find, that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles, on the Saturday night before Hun's death, and Charles riding out of the town on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a convention made betwixt Charles and the chancellor to colour the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came again to the town at night, and killed Richard Hun, as in the depositions of Julian Littell, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter Turner, doth appear.

After colouring of the murder betwixt Charles and the chancellor conspired, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, bellringer of Paul's, and delivered to the same bellringer the keys of the Lollers' tower, giving to the said bellringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keep Hun more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day; moreover, I charge thee let nobody come to him without my license, neither to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hun was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hun's neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear, and long to endure.

Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hun's death the said chancellor came up into the said Lollers' tower, and kneeling down before Hun, held up his hands to him, praying of him forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday following the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of Paul's to go up to him and say a gospel, and make for him holy water, and holy bread, and give it to him, which so did: and also the chancellor commanded that Hun should have his dinner. And the same dinner-time Charles' boy was shut in prison with Hun, which was never so before; and after dinner, when the bellringer fet out the boy, the bellringer said to the same boy, "Come no more hither with meat for him till to-morrow at noon, for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should have but one meal a day." And the same night following Richard Hun was murdered, which murder could not have been done without consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, bellringer; for there

Proofs of
Hun's
death.

(1) "Murrey," mulberry colour.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1514.

could no man come into the prison but by the keys, being in John the bellringer's keeping. Also, as by my lord of London's book doth appear, John the bellringer is a poor innocent man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this murder could not be done but by the commandment of the chancellor. and by the witting and knowing of John the bellringer.

The wit-
ness of
Charles
Joseph.
summer.

Charles Joseph, within the Tower of London, of his own free will, and unconstrained, said, That master chancellor devised, and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Hun's charge; record John God, John Trne, John Pasmar, Richard Gibson, with many others. Also Charles Joseph saith, That when Richard Hun was slain, John the bellringer bare up the steire into the Lollars' tower a wax-candle, having the keys of the doors hanging on his arm; and I Charles went next to him, and master chancellor came up last; and when all we came up, we found Hun lying on his bed; and then master chancellor said, 'Lay hands on the thief;' and so all we murdered Hun: and then I Charles put the girdle about Hun's neck; and then John bellringer and I Charles did heave up Hun, and master chancellor pulled the girdle over the staple; and so Hun was hanged.

The Deposition of Julian Littell, late servant of Charles Joseph, by her free will, unconstrained, the sixth year of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, within the chapel of our Lady of Bethlehem, showed to the Inquest.

First, Julian saith, That the Wednesday at night, after the death of Richard Hun, Charles Joseph her master came home to his supper: then Julian said to him, 'Master, it was told me that ye were in prison.' Charles answered, 'It is merry to turn the penny:' and after supper Charles trussed up a persell of his goods, and with help of Julian, bare them into Mr. Porter's house to keep: and that done, Charles said to Julian; 'Julian, if thou wilt be sworn to keep my counsel, I will show thee my mind.' Julian answered, 'Yea, if it be neither felony nor treason.' Then Charles took a book out of his purse, and Julian sware to him thereupon. Then said Charles to Julian, 'I have destroyed Richard Hun!' 'Alas, master,' said Julian, 'how? he was called an honest man.' Charles answered, 'I put a wire in his nose.' 'Alas,' said Julian, 'now be ye cast away and undone.' Then said Charles, 'Julian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keep my counsel:' And Julian answered, 'Yea, but for God's sake, master, shift for yourself.' And then Charles said, 'I had lever than 100 pound it were not done; but what is done cannot be undone.' Moreover Charles said then to Julian, 'Upon Sunday, when I rode to my cousin Barington's house, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night; and yet before it was midnight I was in London, and had killed Hun. And upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and sent for neighbours, and made good cheer.' Then Julian asked Charles, 'Where set you your horse that night you came to town, and wherefore came you not home?' Charles answered, 'I came not home for fear of bewraying.' And then Julian asked Charles, 'Who was with you at the killing of Hun?' Charles answered, 'I will not tell thee.' And Julian saith that upon the Thursday following Charles tarried all day in his house with great fear: and upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, Charles went forth, as he said, to Paul's; and at his coming in again he was in a great fear, saying hastily, 'Get me my horse;' and with great fear and haste made him ready to ride; and bade Master Porter's lad lead his horse into the field by the backside. And then Charles put into his sleeve his mase, or masor, with other plate borrowed of Master Porter, both gold and silver; but how much I am not sure: and Charles went into the field after his horse, and Julian brought his budget after him. Also upon Friday in Christmas week following, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three bakers and a smith of Stratford, and the same night they carried out of Charles's house all his goods by the fieldside to the Bell in Shoreditch, and early in the morning conveyed it with carts to Stratford.

Moreover Julian saith, That the Saturday at night before the death of Hun, Charles came home, and brought with him a gurnard, saying, it was for Hun; and Charles's boy told Julian, that there was also ordained a piece of fresh salmon, which John Belringer had.

Also Charles said to the said Julian, 'Were not this ungracious trouble, I could bring my lord of London to the doors of heretics in London, both of men and women, that be worth a thousand pound; but I am afraid that the ungracious midwife shall bewray us all.'

Also Charles said unto Mrs. Porter in likewise and more larger, saying of the best in London: whereto Mrs. Porter answered, 'The best in London is my lord mayor.' Then Charles said, 'I will not scuse him quite, for that he taketh this matter hot.'

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1514.

Whereas Charles Joseph saith he lay at Neckhill with a harlot, a man's wife, in Barington's house, the same night, and there abode until the morrow at eleven of the clock, that Richard Hun was murdered; and thereupon brought before the king's council, for his purgation, the foresaid Baude Barington's wife, and also the foresaid harlot: this purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear, as well by the deposition of Julian Littel, as of Thomas Chicheley, tailor, Thomas Simondes, stationer, of Robert Johnson and his wife, of John Spalding, Belringer: also of Peter Turner, son-in-law of the foresaid Charles Joseph; who said before to an honest woman, a wax-chandler's wife, that before this day seventh night Hun should have a mischievous death, &c.: also of John Enderby, barber, to whom John Spalding himself declared these words, That there was ordained for Hun so grievous penance, that when men hear of it, they shall have great marvel thereof, &c.; besides the deposition moreover of Allen Creswell, wax-chandler, and Richard Horsenail, bailiff of the sanctuary town called Godsture, in Essex. Which testimonies and depositions hereafter follow.

The wit-
ness of
Peter
Turner.
The wit-
ness of
John
Spalding
himself.

* The Deposition of Thomas Chytcheley, Tailor.¹

The said Thomas sayeth: The same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quarter of an hour after seven a clock in the morning, he met with Charles Joseph, coming out of Poules at the nether north door, going toward Pater noster row, saying, 'Good morrow, Master Charles!' and the said Charles answered, 'Good morrow!' and turned his back, when he was without the church door, and looked upon the said Chitchelay.

* The Deposition of Thomas Simondes, Stationer.

He sayeth, That the same morning that Hun was dead, within a quarter of an hour after seven a clock in the morning, Charles Joseph came before him at his stall, and said, 'Good morrow, goship Simondes!' and the same Simonds said, 'Good morrow' to him again; and the wife of the same Simons was by him; and because of the deadly countenance and hasty going of Charles, the said Thomas bade his wife look whither Charles goeth; and as she could perceive, Charles went into an ale house standing in Pater noster row, by the alley leading into the rode of Northern, or into the alley, whither, she could not well tell.

See
Appendix.

* The Deposition of Robert Johnson and his Wife, dwelling at the Bell, in Shoreditch.²

The said Robert sayeth, That Charles Joseph sent his horse to his house upon a holyday, at night, about three weeks before Christmas, by a boy; which horse was all besweat and all bemired: and the said boy said, 'Let my father's horse stand saddled, for I cannot tell whether my father will ride again to night or not;' and the said horse stood saddled all night, and in the morning following, Charles came booted and spurred about eight of the clock, and asked if his horse was saddled? and the servant answered, 'Yea.' And the said Charles leaped upon his horse, and prayed the host to let him out of his back gate, that he might ride out by the field side; which host so did. And, because he was uncertain of the day, we asked him if he heard speak of the death of Hun at that time or not, and he

(1) The depositions of witnesses, distinguished by asterisks, are inserted from the edition of 1563, pp. 393—395.—Ed.

(2) Where Charles Joseph set his horse that night that he came to town to murder Richard Hun.

*Henry**VIII.*

A.D.

1514.

answered, 'Nay!' But shortly after he did. Nevertheless Peter Turner, Charles's son-in-law, who brought the horse by night into the Bell, Robert Johnson's house, confessed it was the same night before that Hun was found dead in the morning. Moreover the Friday before Hun's death, Peter Turner said to an honest woman, a wax-chandler's wife, dwelling before St. Mary's Spital gate, that before this day seven-night Hun should have a mischievous death. And, the same day at afternoon this Hun was found dead, the said Peter came to the same wife and told her that Hun was hanged; saying, 'What told I you?'

Also James, the chancellor's cook, the Friday before Hun's death, said to five honest men, that Hun should die or Christmas, or else he would die for him. And on the Monday that Hun was found dead, the said James came to the same men and said, 'What told I you? is he not now hanged?' And we of the inquest asked both of Peter Turner, and of James Cook, where they had knowledge that Hun should so shortly die? and they said, 'In Master Chancellor's place, by every man.'

* The Deposition of John Spaldyng, Belrynger.

*See
Appendix.*

First the said deponent sayeth, That on Saturday the 2d day of December, A.D. 1514, he took the charge of the prison at four of the clock at after noon, by the commandment of Master Chancellor, and so took the keys; whereupon he gave commandment to the deponent, that he should let no manner of person speak with the prisoner, except he had knowledge of them; and so at five of the clock the same day, the said deponent went to the prisoner himself alone, and saw him, and cherished him, where he gave the said deponent a piece of fresh salmon for his wife. And after that, the said deponent sayeth, that he went to Master Commissary's, to supper with his fellow, where he remembered that he had left his knife with the said prisoner; whereupon, by the counsel of Master Commissary, he went to the prisoner and fetched his knife, where he found the prisoner saying of his beads, and so the said deponent required his knife of the said prisoner, and the said prisoner delivered the knife to the said deponent gladly; and so he departed for that night.

And after that, on the Sunday next following, the said deponent came to the prisoner at nine o'clock, and asked him what meat he would have to his dinner? and he answered, 'but a morsel;' and so the said deponent departed and went to the chancellor into the quier, and he commanded that he should take the penitentiary up to the prisoner with him, to make him holy water and holy bread, and made the said deponent to depart the prison-house for a while; and after that he brought him his dinner, and locked Charles's boy with him all dinner while, unto the hour of one o'clock, and so let the lad out again, and asked him what he would have to his supper? and he answered, that he had meat enough; and so departed until six of the clock; and then the said deponent brought him a quart of ale. And at that time one William Sampson went with the said deponent to see the prisoner where he was, and saw him, and spake together; and so, from the hour of six aforesaid unto twelve o'clock on the morrow, the said deponent came not there, and when he came there, he met the chancellor, with other doctors, going to see the prisoner where he hanged.

* The Deposition of Peter Turner, Son-in-law of Charles Joseph.

First, he sayeth, That his father-in-law rode out of the town, upon Sunday the 3rd day of December, A.D. 1511, at six o'clock in the morning, wearing a coat of orange tawny, on a horse, colour grizzle, trotting.

He saith the Sunday next before that, one Button's wife gave knowledge to the said deponent, that his father should be arrested by divers sergeants as soon as he could be taken; and thereupon the said deponent gave knowledge to the said father-in-law at the Black Friars at the water side, whereupon he avoided; and the same night, Master Chancellor gave the keys to John Belringer, and gave him charge of the prisoner. And on the said Sunday the said deponent, with John Belringer, served the said prisoner with his dinner at twelve

o'clock, and then John belringer said to the deponent, that he would not come to him unto the morrow, for my lord had commanded him that the prisoner should have but one meal's meat of the day. Notwithstanding that, the said John Bellringer, after that he had shut Poules church doors, went to the aforesaid prisoner, with another with him, at seven of the clock at night the said Sunday.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1514.

And the said deponent sayeth, That he came on the Monday, at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning, to seek John, bellringer, and could not find him, and tarried until the high mass of Poules was done, and yet he could not find the said John; and then one William, John Belringer's fellow, delivered the keys to the said deponent, and so the said deponent, with two officers of my lord's, being somners, went to serve the said prisoner, and when they came, the prisoner (they said) was hanged; his face to the wallward. And, upon that, the said deponent immediately gave knowledge to the chancellor, whereupon the chancellor went up with the Master of the Rolls, and Master Subdean, with other doctors unknown, to the number of a dozen, and their servants.

* The Deposition of John Enderby, Barber.

The said John Enderby saith, The Friday before the death of Richard Hun, betwixt eight and nine of the clock in the morning, he met with John Belynger in Estcheap, and asked of him how Master Hun fared? the said Belynger answered, saying: There is ordained for him so grievous penance, that when men hear of it, they shall have great marvel thereof.

Witnesses that heard John, bellringer, say these words: John Rutter, scrivener, and William Segar, armourer.

Also the said John Enderby saith, The same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, he met with the said John Belringer at the conduit in Gracious street,¹ about nine of the clock in the morning. Asking the said Belringer how Master Hun fared, the said Belringer answered, saying: he fared well this day in the morning betwixt five and six of the clock; howbeit, I am sorry for him, for there can nobody come to him until I come, for I have the keys of the doors here by my girdle; and showed the keys to the said Enderby.*

The Deposition of Allen Creswell, Waxchandler.

The said Allen saith, That John Grandger, servant with my lord of London, in my lord of London's kitchen, at such time as the said Allen was sering of Hun's coffin, that Grandger told to him, that he was present with John Belringer the same Sunday at night that Richard Hun was found dead on the morrow, when the keepers set him in the stocks; insomuch that the said Hun desired to borrow the keeper's knife: and the keeper asked him what he would do with his knife; and he answered, 'I had lever kill myself than to be thus entreated.' This deposition the said Allen will prove as far forth as any christian man may; saying, that Granger showed to him these words, of his own free will and mind, without any question or inquiry to him made by the said Allen. Moreover the said Allen saith, that all that evening Grandger was in great fear.

See
Appendix.

The Deposition of Richard Horsenail, Bailiff of the Sanctuary-Town called Godsture in Essex.

The said Richard saith, That the Friday before Christmas-day last past, one Charles Joseph, sumner to my lord of London, became a sanctuary-man, and the aforesaid Friday he registered his name; the said Charles saying it was for the safeguard of his body, for there be certain men in London so extreme against him for the death of Richard Hun, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the said Charles saith, he knowledgeth himself guiltless of Hun's death; for he delivered the keys to the chancellor by Hun's life. Also the said bailiff saith, that Charles paid the duty of the said registering, both to him and sir John Studley, vicar.

(1) So it stands in the original.—Ed.

*Henry**VIII.*

A.D.

1514.

Copy of the Letter of Richard Fitzjames, then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord unto my poor chancellor now in ward, and indicted by an untrue quest, for the death of Richard Hun, upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph made by pain and durance; that by your intercession it may please the king's grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet council, in the presence of the parties, or there be any more done in the cause: and that upon the innocency of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the king's grace to award a placard unto his attorney, to confess the said indictment to be untrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set, 'in favorem hæreticæ pravitatis,' that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel. 'Quare si potes beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates nostras, et tibi in perpetuum devincti erimus!' Over this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the king's gracious favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might speak with his grace and you: and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble orator, Richard London.

Lastly, now it remaineth to infer the sentence of the questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I have first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament-house.

The Words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords in the Parliament-house.

Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament-house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hun, true men; and said and took upon his conscience, that they were false perjured catiffs. And said furthermore to all the lords there being, 'For the love of God look up this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine own house for heretics;' and said, that the said Richard Hun hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speak with him; and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man: which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinion, he would cut her throat with his own hands; with other words.

The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Coroner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry VIII., afore Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hun, late of London, tailor, who was found hanged in the Lollars' tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner-wise the said Richard Hun came unto his death: and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgwater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crofton, John God, Richard Holt, John Pasmere, Edmund Hudson, John Aunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tynie: the which said upon their oaths, that whereas the said Richard Hun, by the commandment of Richard bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollars' tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid;

William Horsey, of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the 4th day of December, the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hun made a fray, and feloniously strangled and smothered the same Richard Hun, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hun, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him. And also the body of the said Richard Hun, afterward, the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hun, of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown. And so the said jury have sworn upon the holy evangelists, that the said William Horsey, clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hun in manner and form aforesaid, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1514.*

Hun
cleared
by the
inquest,
not to
have
hanged
himself.

Subscribed in this manner:

Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London.

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament-house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the cardinal, by his authority, practised for his catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon, and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place where favour did save, yet because the innocent cause of Hun should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hun were confiscate into the king's hands, it would please his grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hun. Upon which motion, the king, of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children under his broad seal yet to be seen; but also did send out his warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to re-deliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hun: all which goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

The par
liament
judgeth
with
Richard
Hun.

Practice
of cardinal
Wol-
sey for
his
clergy.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in behalf of Richard Hun.

Trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well. Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our city of London, draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hun: and whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hun, and the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign; the same we abhor: nevertheless we of our special grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hun, and the administration of them, were committed to the said

See
Appendix

The
king's let
ter for the
restitu-
tion of
Hun's
goods.

*Henry**VIII.*A. D.
1514.

Roger Whapplot. We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants, the children of the said Richard Hun; as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, wasted, and consumed, by your tyranny and cruel act so committed, the same being of no little value; and as hitherto ye have made no recompense, according to our laws, as might stand with equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws: wherefore we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenor of these our special letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our laws in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril; so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy eftsoons in this behalf, as ye in the same tender to avoid our high displeasure: otherwise that ye upon the sight hereof, set all excuses apart, and repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our manor, &c.

A DEFENCE OF RICHARD HUN AGAINST SIR THOMAS MORE
AND ALANUS COPUS.

I doubt not but by these premises, thou hast, christian reader! sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of Richard Hun, from top to toe. First, how he came in trouble for denying the bearing-sheet of his young infant departed; then how he was forced, for succour of himself, to sue a præmunire; and thereupon what conspiracy of the clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what fetches were practised, and articles devised, to snarl him in the trap of heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was required by the coroner, and cleared by acquittal of the inquest. Moreover, how the case was brought into parliament, and by parliament the king's precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the public acts, as of the bishop's registers and special records remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hun, there to be seen, I thought here to unwrap and discover so much the more, for three special purposes:¹

Three
purposes
consider-
ed.

See
Appendix.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of truth falsely slandered, of innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me for sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jest poor simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of Alan Cope; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against Richard Hun, do double-wise charge him, both to be a heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself: which as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing. Wherefore, as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of story,

(1) *Ex publicis actis. Ex archivis et Regist. Lond.*

simply laid out before all men's faces ; so something here to intermit in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of myself, I will now compendiously answer to both these aforesaid adversaries, stopping, as it were, with one bush two gaps ; and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together. And, first, against sir Thomas More, albeit in degree worshipful, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, if his judgment in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same, being otherwise a man with many worthy ornaments beautified : yet, being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty four questmen, the deposition of so many jurats, the judgment of the coroner, the approbation of the parliament ; and, lastly, the king's bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of sir Thomas More.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1514.

Answer against More. His having many good virtues, had one great vice. His person countervailed.

Now as touching his reasons : whereas he, coming in with a flim-flam of a horse-mill, or a mill-horse (in his own terms I speak), thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve who murdered Hun : against these reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the evidences and demonstrations of the history above prefixed, to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be poised.

His reasons refuted.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kemped, his bonnet right set on his head, with his eyes and mouth fair closed, without any driveling or spurning. His body being taken down, was found loose (which by hanging could not be), his neck broken, and the skin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fretted and faced away ; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also that went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands, moreover, wrung in the wrists ; his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt-collar, unstained with any blood : when, notwithstanding, in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Also, whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climb thereto without some mean, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the least touch in the world it was ready to fall : and how was it possible that Hun might hang himself upon that staple, the stool so standing ? besides the confession, moreover, of Charles Joseph's own mouth to Julian Littell, of Robert Johnson, John Spalding the bellringer, Peter Turner, and others. All which testimonies and declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice, I trust, any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand : unless Master More, being a gentleman of Utopia, peradventure after some strange guise of that country, useth to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection ; not seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he listeth.

The circumstances of Hun's hanging considered.

See Appendix.

Utopia Mori.

Finally, where sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludeth, that he, hearing the matter what well might be said, yet could not find contrary, but Hun to be guilty of his own death : so in as many words to answer him again, I, perusing and searching in the story of Richard Hun what may well be searched, cannot but marvel with myself, either with what darkness the eyes of Master More

*Henry VIII.*A.D.
1514.Answer
to Copus
for Rich-
ard Hun.

be dared,¹ not to see what is so plain ; or else with what conscience he could dissemble that which shame cannot deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Alan Cope, who had rather the bishop's chancellor and officers to be accounted among thieves and murderers, than Hun to be numbered among the martyrs, I have herein not much to say, because himself saith but little : and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he, saying not much, sendeth us to seek more in More ; so with like brevity again I may send him to William Tindall, to shape him an answer. Yet notwithstanding lest Cope, in saying something, should think Hun's innocent cause to lack some friends, who will not, or dare not, adventure in defence of truth ; somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

Hun
murdered
not by
himself,
but by
others.Not pos-
sible that
Hun, so
hanging,
should
hang
himself.

And first, touching this murder of Hun not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others : besides the demonstrations above premised to sir Thomas More, now to Master Cope ; if I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more ; that is, his cap found so straight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not say likely ; but how is it possible, for a man to hang himself in a silken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness, that neither the space of the knot could well compass his head about, and yet have his cap so straight set upon his head as his was ?

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so little, it must needs have fallen ?

Cope
denieth
him to
die a
martyr.The
cause,
not the
pain,
maketh a
martyr.The
cause of
Abel's
death
and of
Hun's
com-
pared.

But Cope, being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Master More. For he, understanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leaveth it in suspense ; neither determining that Hun did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr, no more than those who are quelled by thieves and murderers in high-way sides. Well, be it so as Cope doth argue, that those who die by the hands of felons and murderers in thievish ways, be no martyrs ; yet, notwithstanding this, his own similitude, comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to thieves and murderers, doth grant at least that Hun died a true man, although no martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a martyr, in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall find it not altogether like to the cause of those who perish by thieves and robbers. For such commonly, because of their goods, and for some worldly gain to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peradventure have the reward, although not the name of martyrs : whereas this man's death being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporal lucre to redound to his oppressors ; as it hath another cause, so may it have another name, and deserve to be called by the name of martyrdom. Like as Abel, being slain by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulated against him, but of spite only and of malice was made away, yet notwithstanding is justly numbered among the martyrs : so what let to the contrary, but

(1) 'Dared,' confounded: to "dare larks," to catch them by dazzling them in a peculiar manner.—Todd's Johnson.—ED.

that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the same society, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer proceedeth together out of one fountain? And what, moreover, if a man should call Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a martyr, what great injury should he do either to the name, or cause, of the person, worthy to be carpied at? Against Thomas Becket, you know Master Cope, no special article of faith was laid, wherefore he died:¹ and why then do you bestow upon him so devoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king, which by the law of God, and of the realm, did belong unto him; and cannot suffer Hun to be titled for a martyr, dying in his own right, by the hands of spiritual thieves and homicides, as you yourself do term them? But what do I strain my travail any further to prove Hun a martyr, when Cope's own confession doth import no less, though I said nothing? For, if I should take no more but his own very words, and say, that he was known to be a heretic, as Cope doth affirm, what could I say more, seeing he died for their heresy, to prove him to die a martyr? for to die a heretic with the papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a martyr?²

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1514.

But howsoever it pleaseth either sir Thomas More to jest, or Alan Cope to scold out the matter, and to style Richard Hun for a known and desperate heretic: yet to all true godly disposed men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous person, no heretic, but faithful and sound, save that only he seemed rather half a papist; at least no full protestant, for that he resorted daily to mass, and also had his beads in prison with him, after the catholic manner; albeit he was somewhat inclining (as may appear) toward the gospel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good master to him, to let him at least be a martyr's fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hun, not only for a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying, I should affirm nothing less than truth, nor any thing more than may truly be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this confession unto the adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved, let us see now the proofs of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no martyr: "because," saith he, "true men, being killed in high-ways by thieves and murderers, are not therefore to be counted martyrs," &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true men killed by thieves and murderers? They that are killed by thieves and murderers, are killed for some prey, or money about them: and what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to those who oppressed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing-cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the 'præmunire,' the danger thereof pertained to the priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole church, then was the cause of his death not private but public, tending to the whole church and clergy of Rome: and so is his death not altogether like to the death of those, who, for private respects, are killed by thieves and murderers.

Hun no
full pro
testant.

(1) Cope, Dial. 6, p. 817.

(2) Cope, *ibid.*

*Henry**VIII.**A.D**1514.*

The
cause of
Hun's
secret
murder
discuss-
ed.

Crafty
practice.

Hun had
double
wrong.

Cope's
reasons
why Hun
should
hang
himself.

See
Addenda.
His rea-
sons an-
swered.
Proofs
that Hun
did not
hang
himself.

"But he was a heretic," saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for a heretic, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr: for by that way which they call heresy, the living God is served, and by no way better. And if he were a heretic, why then did they not proceed against him as a heretic while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to entrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage, when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for a heretic? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the law, having the law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved a heretic while he lived, and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the præmunire, and afterwards to stop the pursuit of his death by making him a heretic. And therefore were articles devised by the chancellor (as is proved before by the witness of Charles Joseph and another) against him, and he condemned for a heretic, and all his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part; and so thereupon was recommitted to the secular power, and burned: wherein they did him double wrong; first, in that they burned him for a heretic, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the bishop's registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own laws. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him before they knew him and heard him speak (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet, admit that he was condemned and burned for a heretic, yet to be killed and burned of them for a heretic, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double martyr.

But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against Richard Hun, after he had made him first no martyr, and then a heretic, thirdly he now maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith, that no other man was any part of his death but only his own hands, and that, either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogue, to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameless, who, in queen Mary's time, in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the chancellor he argueth, that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatness of his own peril which might ensue thereof; who, if he had maligned the man, and had been so disposed to work his destruction, had means otherwise, without danger, to bring that about, having him within his danger convicted and fast tied for heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story itself of his death, above specified; namely, by the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling and hanging, by his neck broke, by his body loose, by his skin fretted, by his wrists wrung, by his girdle in such shortness double cast about the staple, by his cap right upon his head, by his hair kemmed, by his eyes closed, by the cake of blood found on the floor, by his shirt-collar, doublet, jacket,

and other outward parts of his garments without drop of blood, unspotted; by the stool so standing upon the bolster, by the chancellor's murrey gown, found the day after upon the stocks, the wax candle fair put out: Furthermore, by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestation of the witnesses sworn, by the coroner's judgment, by the assent of the parliament, by the king's letters assigned, and broad seal for restitution of his goods; and finally, by the confession of the parties themselves who murdered him, &c. And yet thinketh Cope to make men such fools, having yet their five wits, to ween yet that Hun did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this story may appear? And though it were, as it was, unlikely and hard for a man to believe, that Dr. Horsey, a man of such age, dignity, and learning, would so much forget himself to attempt such a villany; yet so great is the devil sometimes with man, where God permitteth, that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it likely that Cain would ever have killed Abel, his own natural brother? which was more than for a bishop's chancellor to kill a citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby Hun did hang himself, how is it like, or who ever did hear, a man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and kemping his head, before he go to hang himself? No more credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that Richard Hun being in prison, was convicted of heresy: by which word convicted, if he mean that Hun was proved a heretic, that is false; for that he, being at Fulham examined upon certain articles, both denied the articles to be true as they were objected; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction; and therefore, not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved a heretic. And if by this term convicted, he mean that he was by sentence cast; so was Hun never cast by any sentence for a heretic, so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he huddlith up one false narration on the neck of another; affirming moreover, that Hun was cast into prison before he entered his suit of præmunire against the priest: which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of sir Thomas More, his own author; who reporteth, that Hun (in suing his præmunire against the priest), being set upon a glory of victory, made his boasting among his friends, that trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. Whereby it appeareth that Hun was not then in prison clapt up for heresy, but was abroad seeking counsel among the lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth More.¹

After this heap of untruths above passed, add yet further another copy of Cope's false dealing; who, seeking all corners and everywhere how to pick matter against my former history,² chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate the king's acts and judgments in the acquittal of Dr. Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquit Dr. Horsey by his gracious pardon,

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1514.Manifest
untruth.
in Cope.Another
untruth
noted.Cope
huddles
up un-
truths.
Another
untruth.Another
untruth
in Cope
noted.

(1) Dial. b. iii.

(2) The first edition, 1563.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1514.

Answer
to Cope's
cavilla-
tion.

The es-
caping of
Horsey
came ra-
ther of
favour
than of
demerits.

I am not against it, neither do I deny but the king so did: neither do I say, nor ever did, but the king, of his supereminent prerogative, may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the king's acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, Whether Dr. Horsey with his conjurats, did kill Richard Hun or no? then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but removeth away the penalty of the law deserved: and so if the lives of them were saved by way of pardon (as Mr. More himself seemeth not to deny), then was it not through their innocency claiming justice, that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where justice absolveth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for pardon never cometh lightly, either with God or man, except the crime be first confessed. Wherefore if they escaped by justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Master More say, they were saved by pardon? And if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the king's attorney in the king's name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the king was then informed by the cardinal and suit of friends; yet afterwards the king, being better informed by the parliament, and the truth better known, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon unto them, as by the king's own acts and his broad seal appeareth, yet remaining in records to be seen.

And as touching my former histories set forth in Latin and in English, which spake first of the foreman of the quest, then of the king's attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money:¹ as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterwards of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary, I think, to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one book, which he before leaveth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For how is it otherwise likely or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the corner's inquest and jury of twenty-four chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demonstrable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not see the same; yet through the handling of the aforesaid attorney, and of the foreman of the quest, the murderers were borne out and confessed to be no murderers. If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the realm of England, in the time of cardinal Wolsey (who then under the king and in the king's name did what he list), then let it seem untrue what I have written in my former stories. And yet the words of my story, which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of Edward Hall, his

(1) In the first Edition of the Acts and Monuments, London, 1563, page 391, Foxe says, "So upon good evidence Dr. Horsey the chancellor, and Belringer, with Charles Joseph the somner, were indicted for the murder; but afterwards, by the means of the spirituality and *money*, Doctor Horsey caused the king's attorney to confess him, on his arraignment, not to be guilty; and so he escaped and went to Exeter." See the Latin Edition also; page 121. Basle; 1559. 'Ille, largitionibus corrupto pæconum,' &c. profugit Exoniam.—Ed.

own author.¹ Wherefore, if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censor of other men's writings, let him expostulate with Hall, and not with me.

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hun, being of itself so clear, that no indifferent judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be satisfied. Wherefore I return again to the purpose of our story intermitted.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Elizabeth Stamford, and others.

In the table above, containing the names of those who, about this time of Richard Hun, were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, John Houshold, and others, abjuring about A. D. 1517; whose vexation and weakness, although it be pitiful to behold, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable; wherein we have to see the same form of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publicly received, as well touching the Lord's sacrament of his body, as also other specialities of sincerity. And although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace hath given us now: yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of public reformation, as may appear by this confession of Elizabeth Stamford hereunder written; which only may suffice for example, to understand what ripe knowledge of God's Word was then abroad; although not in churches publicly preached, for danger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers, in number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford; who, being brought and examined before Fitzjames bishop of London, A. D. 1517, confessed, that she was taught by one Thomas Beele (sometime dwelling at Henley) these words eleven years before:

The teaching of the former times to be considered.

Thomas Beele.

'Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto man, to be in one body with him. Sooth it is, that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy Sacrament, Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by hearing with ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore, saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us, brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us, brethren, to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us, as the thief doth upon the merchant.'

Also the said Beele taught and showed her, that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread: and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ put upon the cross, after a divine and mystical manner. And moreover, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this aforesaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope's pardons and indulgences were naught worth, and profited not, and that worshipping of images and pilgrimages is not to be done.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may also be annexed the doctrine and

(1) Ex Ed. Hall, in vit. Henry VIII. anno 6.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

confession of Joan Sampson, wife of John Sampson, carpenter, of Aldermanbury in London: against whom, being cited and examined before the bishop of London, certain witnesses were produced: who, upon their oath, being sworn, did detect and denounce the said Joan Sampson in these articles and opinions following:

Articles
of Joan
Sampson.

I. That she being in her labour, what time Joan Sampson her predecessor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of women, called much upon the help of the Virgin Mary, she, spitting thereat, was in such sort aggrieved, that the other party was compelled to forsake the house.

II. Also, that she spake against pilgrimage, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, and of all saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

III. Item, Another time, in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invoking the blessed Virgin to help in woman's labour, she stood against them, and contumeliously spake against the invocators.

IV. Item, That she, speaking against the pilgrimage of our lady of Wilsdon (as she was then called) and of St. Saviour at Bermondsey, called the said St. Saviour, St. Sawyer.

V. Item, For having two certain books in English, one bigger, and another lesser, which she committed to one John Anstead a cook; which books in the register be not named.

Against
the sacra-
ment of
the altar.

VI. Item, That the said Joan Sampson, at a supper, in the hearing of certain men, and of a certain widow named Joan White, spake openly in contempt of the sacrament of the altar; saying, that the priests were idolaters who did lift up the bread over their heads, making the people to worship it, and making the people to believe that it was the Lord's body; and that it was better to eat the altar-cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Here follow, moreover, the names of divers others who, in the registers, be specified to abjure:

William Jacum, carpenter.	John Hatchot.	Geo. Laund, prior of St.
John Stradling.	Jacob Sturdey.	Sithe.
John Newman, shereman.	Thomas Purual, tailor.	Henry Coll.
Robert Boshel.	John Bitam.	William Man.
Thomas Edward, dyer.	Robert Hutton, pinner.	William Sweting.
Richard Dewar.	Robert Pope.	Jacob Brewster.
Richard Apulby.	John Geeste of Stafford.	Sabine Manue.
John Osburne.	John Brian of the parish	John Spencer.
Robert Roger.	of St. Stephen.	Patrike Dowdal, alias
John Eton.	John Bol.	Capper.
John Chapman.	Richard Wescot.	Robert Aleyn.
William Chakon.	William Crosse.	John Finch, cook.
Richard Mildnal.		John Southwick.

John Southwick.

Against this John Southwick last named, it was laid and objected, that when one Rivelay, coming from the church of the Grey Friars in London, had said to his wife (asking where he had been), that he had heard mass, and had seen his Lord God in form of bread and wine over the priest's head, the aforesaid John Southwick there present answered again and said; "Nay, William! thou savest not thy Lord God, thou sawest but bread, wine, and the chalice." And when the said William answered again in the same words as before, saying, "I trust verily that I saw my Lord God in form of bread and wine, and this I doubt not;" the other replying again, answered and said as before, "Nay, I tell thee thou sawest but only

a figure or sacrament of him, which is in substance bread and wine," &c. This was A.D. 1520, in which he was compelled to abjure.

Henry VIII.

All these abovenamed, in one key of doctrine and religion, did hold and concord together: against whom were objected five or six special matters; to wit, for speaking against worshipping of saints, against pilgrimage, against invocation of the blessed Virgin, against the sacrament of the Lord's body, and for having Scripture books in English; which books I find to be especially named, as these; the book of the four evangelists, a book of the epistles of Paul and Peter, the epistle of St. James, a book of the Apocalypse and of Antichrist, of the Ten Commandments, and Wickliff's Wicket, with other such.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Consent
of doc-
trine.

*See
Addenda.*

John Stilman, Martyr.

It would ask a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these above-rehearsed, who, in those days, recanted and abjured about the beginning of king Henry's reign and before: among whom, yet notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto death; of which number one was John Stilman by name, who, about Sept. 24, A.D. 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years then past, before Edmund then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images; as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial: yet since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse: and further he had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book called *The Wicket* was good and holy.¹ Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the Lollards' tower at London, and on October 22, then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory of Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed the bishop's vicar-general, upon the contents of these articles following:

A.D. 1518.

¹ Wickliff's
Wicket.

Articles laid against John Stilman.

I. First I object unto you, that you have confessed before my lord of London, and me Dr. Hed, his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone of the diocese of Winchester (with whom you abode six or seven years after), did teach you to believe that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, as the lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you Wickliff's Wicket, and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you have erroneously believed.

Years of
antiquity
to be
noted.
A godly
martyr.
Rich.
Smart
burned at
Salisbury,
in 1503.

II. Item, You have divers times read the said book called Wickliff's Wicket, and one other book of the ten commandments, which the said Richard Smart did give you; and at the time of your first apprehension you did hide them in an old oak, and did not reveal them unto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; where you

(1) Ex Regist. Fitzjames, London.

Henry VIII. promised, by oath upon the evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance as the said bishop of Salisbury did enjoin you : who then enjoined you, upon the like pain, not to depart his diocese without his special license.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

III. Item, It is evident that you be relapsed, as well by your own confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the aforesaid diocese without the license of the bishop, and brought them with you to London; where now, being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought unto the bishop of London : by reason of which your demeanour, you have showed by your impenitent and dissembled conversation, both your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy church, in that you performed not the penance : in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the said diocese without license.

IV. Item, You be not only (as afore is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapsed, by this your aforesaid heretical demeanour, but also, since your last attachment upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them, for they were, and be, good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying that he is Antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth; and that his pardons and indulgences, which he granteth in the sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewise that the college of cardinals be limbs of the said Antichrist : and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said, that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell : but that Wickliff is a saint in heaven, and that the book called his Wicket is good, for therein he sheweth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twenty thousand of your opinion, against us scribes and pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your faith. All which heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary : and therefore, for these premises you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed unto the secular power.

All these articles thus propounded, and his constant persevering in the truth perceived, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, Oct. 25, by his sentence definitive, did condemn him for a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him the same day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man, Martyr.

Next to John Stilman abovementioned, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man; who, March 29, A. D. 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before (Aug. 14, 1511), and being at that time brought before Dr. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles, the effect whereof is this :—

The Articles of Thomas Man.

I. First, That he had spoken against auricular confession, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar.

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| II. Item, That he believed that all holy men of his sect were only priests. | <i>Henry VIII.</i> |
| III. Item, That he had affirmed that the Father of heaven was the altar, and the Second Person the sacrament; and that upon the ascension day the sacrament ascended unto the altar, and there abideth still. | A. D. 1509 |
| IV. Item, That he believed not aright in the sacrament of extreme unction. | to 1518. |
| V. Item, That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed, pilld knaves. | |
| VI. Item, That he had said that pulpits were priests' lying stools. | |
| VII. Item, That he had believed that images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it. | |
| VIII. Item, That he had affirmed that he heard say, the word of God and God to be all one, and that he that worthily receiveth the word of God, receiveth God. | |
| IX. Item, That he had said that the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue; and that holy men of his sect were the true church of God. | |

For these and such like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and, at last, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain as prisoner within the monastery of Osney beside Oxford, and so to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession within the university. Howbeit not long after, the bishop having need of the poor man's help in his household business, took him out of the said monastery, and placed him within his own house until his business was ended; and then (his turn once served) he appointed Dr. Wilcocks his vicar-general, that in his next judicial session within the priory of Frideswide at Oxford, he should assign him to remain within the said priory, and not to depart thence without license of the prior for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. All which notwithstanding (being belike both sorry for his offence in denying the truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage), he bethought himself how he might best escape their cruel hands; and therefore, after a while, seeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocese and jurisdiction of Lincoln, and seeking abroad in other counties for work, thereby to sustain his poor life, he most commonly abode, sometimes in Essex, sometimes in Suffolk; where also he associated and joined himself unto such godly professors of Christ's gospel, as he there could hear of. But within few years after (such is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked members, who never suffer the godly long to continue untroubled,) he was again accused of relapse by the inquest of the inquisition of London, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitz-james then bishop of London, and, Feb. 9th, 1518, he was examined by Dr. Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, within his palace at London; where the said Hed, judicially assisted by divers of his complices, declared first unto Man, that forasmuch as he was, since his first abjuring, again detected and accused, by certain credible and honest persons, of the same heresies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrary to the order of penance enjoined him by the late bishop of Lincoln), he had departed the priory of St. Frideswide, and the diocese of Lincoln, without leave either of the bishop or prior; and was now also found within the diocese of London, and that with-

Thomas Man sent to the monastery of Osney,

And of Frideswide.

Flees out of the monastery.

Thomas Man the second time apprehended.

The cause of his martyrdom.

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1509

to

1518.

out his badge assigned him by the said bishop's vicar-general: he therefore, as chancellor and vicar-general unto the bishop of London, deputed for that purpose, did then mean to proceed against him as a relapse, by order of the ecclesiastical laws in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the consistory of Paul's, on the 12th of February next after, there to answer unto such articles as then should be propounded against him. At which day and place, the chancellor (first reciting the causes above mentioned, why he did then proceed against him) objected unto him these articles following:—

Articles again objected against Thomas Man.

I. First, That he was of the diocese of London.

II. Item, That he was a christian man, and professed Christ's faith, and the determinations of holy church concerning the seven sacraments, and other articles of the catholic faith.

III. Item, That it was not lawful for any man (especially a layman) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrary unto the determinations of the said church; and that the person so doing is a heretic.

IV. Item, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the bishop of Lincoln that then was, of divers points of heresy; as that he had affirmed, that the very body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, but material bread and wine, and that he had received it at Easter as holy bread: and likewise had affirmed, that the crucifix and other images in the church were not to be worshipped; and also, that confession made unto a priest was of no effect; with divers other like opinions and heresies.

V. Item, That for these and such like points of heresy he had been abjured in St. Mary's church at Oxford, before Dr. Wilcocks, chancellor unto the said bishop of Lincoln, in the month of October, in the year last above-said, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

VI. Item, That there also he had taken a solemn oath, to do such penance as should be enjoined him by the authority of the said bishop.

VII. Item, That then he was enjoined to abide within the monastery of Osney by Oxford; and also there to bear a faggot before the first cross in the general procession.

VIII. Item, That after a certain time that he had been in the monastery of Osney, the bishop of Lincoln (for certain causes) took him into his own house and service, respiteing his penance for a time.

IX. Item, That afterwards, which was on the 9th of October, 1512, the said bishop's chancellor, judicially sitting in the chapter-house of the priory of St. Frideswide, in Oxford, did enjoin him that he should tarry within the said priory, and not go out of the gates thereof without license of the prior for the time being, until he had other commandment from the bishop; upon pain of relapse: and further, that he should from thenceforth, upon the like pain, wear a sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment.

X. Item, That after his abjuration, and since the premises thus done, he was yet again detected to the bishop of London by open fame, and denounced by worshipful and credible persons, that he had used like false errors and heresies, and had spoken and taught certain conclusions of heresy against the christian faith, and determinations of holy church: and that he had fallen into the like heresies as before his abjuration, both against the sacrament of the altar, against pilgrimages and worshipping of images: and had blasphemed our blessed lady, calling her Mably.¹

XI. Item, That when he wrought with one John Bates, in Stratford Langthorn, in Rogation-week then three years past, and being bidden by the said Bates's wife to go and hear the gospel, he answered and said unto her, 'I will not go there; go you if you list; ye shall have as much need for it, as to put your finger in the fire and to burn it.'

(1) He meant some image or picture of the Virgin, set up in some blind place to be worshipped.

XII. Item, That in times past, for fear of abjuration, he had fled from Colchester to Newbury, and after that unto Amersham, and had there damnable accompanied with heretics, and had taught heresies among them : and also since the time of his abjuration he had said, that he and his wife had turned six or seven hundred people unto those opinions which he was abjured of, and others also, contrary to Christ's faith, and determinations of holy church.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

His answer unto these articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true ; confessing to the second, that he was a true Christian, and did profess the true christian faith : but the contents of the last three he utterly denied to be true ; affirming for certain answer unto the eleventh article, that at the time mentioned in the same he did not work in the town of Stratford. Upon which answer, the chancellor called forth two witnesses to be sworn and examined against him, willing him that if he had any just matter against any of them, he should refuse them. But to what purpose this his fair offer and trim shew of upright justice served, I cannot see, for, notwithstanding that he charged one of the witnesses with theft and adultery (for that having a wife of his own, he did yet run away with another man's wife and goods), and also alleged that the other was too young to be a sworn witness in case of life and death : yet were they both still retained and allowed by the chancellor, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselves, but to be always ready to justify that which they had to say against the said Thomas Man. And so for that time, as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the prisoner sent again to his prison.

False
witness
received
against
Thomas
Man.

And here, in the order of the oath ministered unto these witnesses, I find one note, me thinketh, worthy of present remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in this process, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, ridiculous, and feigned figurative ceremonies of the papists, who do attribute a spiritual signification unto almost all their doings. The register, discoursing at large the manner of their oath, hath these words :¹ "He caused them to swear upon the holy evangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laid upon the book in sign of the Trinity and catholic faith ; and the other two (to wit, the thumb and the little finger) put downwards under the book, in token of damnation of body and soul, if they did not depose the truth in the matter." This ceremonial order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their own fond invention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so mind I to leave it still unto themselves, with other their apish toys and ridicules, as things worthy to be laughed at ; and will now further proceed with the rest of this process which I have in hand.

The ceremonial
manner
of the
popish
ministering
of their
oath.

On the 15th of February, Dr. Hed the chancellor, again judicially sitting in the consistory at Paul's, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration and penance, and also his own articles last propounded, to be first read ; he called forth a third witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of

Thomas
Man
again
called by
Dr. Hed,
chancellor.

(1) " Ad sancta Dei evangelia jurari fecit, tribus mediis digitis erectis, et super librum positis, in signum Trinitatis, et fidei catholicæ : et duobus (videlicet pollice et auriculari) suppositis et suppressis, et sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis et animæ, si non deposuerint veritatem in hac parte."

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Agnus
lupe
commissus.

The subtle
practice of the
Romish
church-
men.

The laws
of the
church of
Rome
grounded
upon Pi-
late and
Caiaphas.

justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf; which was even like as if the lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolf, or the hare to the hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, who were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his christian profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that antichristian law, by which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the twentieth, and also the twenty-third of the same month of February, in their several sessions, he seeing his own negations to their objections to take no place against their sworn witnesses, had no other thing to allege for himself, but that, through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of counsel, God knoweth: and yet Dr. Raynes being one of his chief assigned advocates, instead of advice, could, by his subtle questioning, then make him confess, that certain talk whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past: which, because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing: and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and upright hearts they took upon them to be his advocates and defenders. The chancellor likewise charged him upon the same twenty-third day, that since his last imprisonment, he had said unto Robert Cluny the bishop's sumner, and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this matter, the laws of the church were grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas: which objection he granting to be true, the chancellor did for that time dismiss the court, until the first day of March next following. Upon that day (minding to make quick dispatch) he in few words asked Man, what matter he had to allege for himself why he should not then (considering the premises) be pronounced a relapsed heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as to such was due by order of law? But he, having no other allegations than before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as a heretic; and notwithstanding that, as the register noteth (but how truly, God only knoweth), he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself unto the bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to do such penance as they should enjoin him, he was yet, the 29th of March, delivered by Dr. Hed to the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigour.¹ The words to be marked in their sentence be these:² "We desire, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, of

(1) The popish chancellor would not seem to consent to his death, but yet could send him to the shambles to be killed.

(2) 'Rogamus attentè in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi dignæ severitatis ultio et executio de te et contra te in hac parte nulla taliter moderetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus, neque mansuetudo dissoluta, sed ad salutem et sanitatem animæ eorum.' &c.

thee and against thee, in this part, may so be moderated, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soul," &c. Wherein these catholic churchmen do well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the laws of their church be grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. For like as Caiaphas, with his court of Pharisees, cried against Christ unto Pilate: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," but "if thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend;" even so they, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular magistrate to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, who bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrisy at last, that she may be seen and known in her right colours!

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door (A. D. 1518), he protesting to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put Man to death; and therefore desiring the sheriff to take him as a relapse and condemned, to see him punished; "et tamen citra mortem," that is, "without death," as the words stand in the register. The sheriff, receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there, the same day in the forenoon, caused him to be "put into God's angel;" according to the words of the said Thomas Man before, saying, that if he were taken again of the pilled knave priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the Holy Angel, and then be an angel in heaven.

Thomas
Man
burned of
the sheriff
without
any war-
rant.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, weaver, of Stratford-Langthorn, against the aforementioned martyr Thomas Man, it appeareth by the registers, that he had been in divers places and countries in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London, at Billericay, at Chelmsford, at Stratford-Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley-upon-Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and divers places more: where he himself testifieth, that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper that he was of, and especially at Newbury,¹ where was (as he confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last, by a certain lewd person, whom they trusted and made of their counsel, they were bewrayed; and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the forest of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren who were at Amersham, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty-three years, which was from this present time seventy years ago. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longland,

Six score
abjured,
and three
or four
burnt
about
Newbury,
sixty
years ago.

(1) Ex Regist. Ric Fitzjames, fol. 798.

Henry
VIII.

bishop of Lincoln, whereof we shall (Christ willing) hear more anon.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

Abjuratio
magna.
Known
men, or
just-fast-
men, at
Amersham.

See
Appendix.

Thomas
Man a
great reader
among the
brethren of
Amersham.

Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, were great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith bishop of Lincoln, about A. D. 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called 'abjuratio magna,' 'the great abjuration;' and those who were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of 'known men,' or 'just-fast men,' &c. In this congregation of the faithful brethren, were four principal readers or instructors; whereof one was Tylsworth, called then Dr. Tylsworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley, whom I suppose to be rather called Tylsworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Dr. Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Woburn, called Little-ease.¹ The third was this Thomas Man, called also Dr. Man, burned as is here mentioned in Smithfield, A. D. 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travail appeareth, was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himself in the same register, that he had turned seven hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley-upon-Thames, (where they dwelt), unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin; named likewise among them Dr. Cosin.

Robert Cosin, of Buckingham, Martyr.

His
teaching
and doctrine.

A per-
jurious
heresy.

This Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same who in the former part of this history is mentioned, being called by the name of father Robert,² and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin, I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same, and said, that she needed not to confess herself to a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching the said Joan, that she might as well drink on the Sunday before mass, as on any other day. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.³

William Sweeting, alias Clerke, Martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the lady Percy, at Darlington, in the county of Northampton, for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted, in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mrs. Margery Wood, the term of thirteen years. From Boxted he departed and came to the town of

(1) See *supra*, page 123.

(2) *Ibid.* page 124.

(3) *Lx Regi. t. Johan. Longland.*

St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Osithe's, named George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more ; where he had so turned the prior by his persuasions, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterwards compelled to abjure.¹ This William Sweeting, coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy was committed to the Lollards' tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester ; and afterwards to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life, which he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church ; and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rederiffe, in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year. Then he went to Chelsea, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town beasts ; in which town, upon St. Ann's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books ; this was A. D. 1511.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1509 to 1518.

George Laund, prior of St. Osith, abjured.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, were these :—

First, For having much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew.

Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had been before abjured.

Item, That when his wife should go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she would receive by her going on pilgrimage ? adding moreover, that as he supposed it was to no purpose nor profit ; but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business.

Against pilgrimage.

Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the priests' altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

Transubstantiation.

Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

Item, Because he had reprehended his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them.

Against images.

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting wherefore he was condemned : who then being asked what cause he had, why he should not be judged for a relapse, said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewster, of Colchester, Martyr.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned, James Brewster, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester ; who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house, in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was A. D. 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London

(1) Ex Regi-st. Ric. Fitzjames, fol. 60.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

being then vacant; and after other penance done at Colchester, was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during his life, which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the comptroller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these :—

Crimes
objected
against
Brewster.

First, That he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book: at which reading also were present at one time Woodroof or Woodbinde, a netmaker, with his wife; also a brother-in-law of William Sweeting; and another time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting read.

Item, Because he used the company and conference of Henry Hert, carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster.

Item, For having a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

Item, Because he, hearing upon a time one Master Bardfield, of Colchester, thus say: 'He that will not worship the Maozim¹ in heart and thought, shall die in sight,' he asked afterwards of William Man, what that word Maozim should mean? who told him, that it signified as much as the masing² God, to wit, the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert, against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that which was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, For that he had communication and conference with Roger Helliard, and one Walker, a thicker of St. Clements, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar.

A per-
tious
heresy.

Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body, and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: 'Now the Son of the living God help us:' unto whom William Sweeting again should answer: 'Now Almighty God so do.'³

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he, with William Sweeting, were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, Whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for a relapse; he, trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his Judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

The un-
merciful
and un-
christian
dealing
of the
catholic
papists.
Sweeting
and
Brewster
burnt in
Smith-
field.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these catholic fathers, who, upon their submission, were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of excommunication, which they had incurred: but immediately after upon the same, the bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation; whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, A. D. 1511.

(1) Maozim in Dan. ii. is an idol, and signifieth as much as forts and munitions.

(2) "Masing God," i. e. the God of the Mass.—Ed.

(3) Ex. Regist. Lond.

Christopher Shoemaker, of Great Missenden, Marter.*Henry VIII.*

To these blessed saints before-named, we will also adjoin Christopher Shoemaker, of whom this I find briefly in the register of sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoemaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Say, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same book unto him, teaching him not to be deceived in the priests' celebration at mass; and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the priests did fantasy; but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ: and taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say, being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoemaker: declaring further, that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.Chris-
topher
burnt in
New-
bury.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and to 1521, I find that as the light of the Gospel began more to appear, and the number of professors to grow, so the vehemency of persecution, and stir of the bishops began also to increase; whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other parts more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misinformed, who condemn this kind of doctrine now received, of novelty; asking, "Where was this church and religion forty years ago, before Luther's time?" To whom it may be answered, that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again. Although it was not received nor admitted of the pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is; yet it was received of others, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work; and that of a great number, who both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appear. And if they think this doctrine be so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or how are the professors thereof so late started up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing nor considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us; which if they did, they should see and say, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes who tasted and followed

The anti-
quity of
the true
doctrine
of the
gospel.Igno-
rance of
antiquity

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1509
to
1518.Elder
times of
the gos-
pel com-
pared
with
these
later
times.Earnest
zeal of
our fore-
fathers in
following
Christ's
gospel.

the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts, as now. Although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal: certes the fervent zeal of those christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing; also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English, of whom some gave five marks,¹ some more, some less, for a book: some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul in English. In which rarity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at; to note in the registers, and to consider how the word of truth, notwithstanding, did multiply so exceedingly as it did amongst them: wherein is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power. For so I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbour, resorting and conferring with another, oftsoons with a few words of the first or second talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they desired to persuade them, touching the truth of God's word and his sacraments. To see their travails, their earnest seekings, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful demeaning with the faithful, may make us now, in these our days of free profession, to blush for shame.

Four principal points they stood in against the church of Rome: in pilgrimage, in adoration of saints, in reading Scripture-books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

Abjuration
magna.Known-
men just
fast-men.Prae-
tie of
Romish
prelates.

After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of 'known-men,' or 'just-fast-men:' as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them, that he caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife, the father the daughter, the daughter the father, the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtly and sleightly these catholic prelates did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these 'known-men,' so covertly, fifteen or twenty years before, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists, wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the

(1) A mark was anciently valued at thirty shillings, afterwards at thirteen and fourpence.—En.

table ensuing (Christ willing), which we have collected out of some part of the registers of Lincoln, shall appear.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith succeeded John Longland. This William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been afore declared; yet was he nothing so bloody or cruel as was the said Longland, who afterwards succeeded in that diocese; for so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire men, wherein many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good christian men should do; and many who were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about A. D. 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the college of Brazennose in Oxford.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1509
to
1518.

William
Smith,
bishop of
Lincoln.

John
Longland,
bishop of
Lincoln.

Brazen-
nose, in
Oxford,
builded.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor servants of Christ; who, to renew again the old sparkles of persecution which were not yet utterly quenched, first began with one or two of those who had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them, by force of their oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own opinions touching points of religion, but also to discover all others of their affinity, who were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else soever they knew: by reason whereof an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straightly handled; and such as were found in relapse were burned. The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either through grief of conscience they shortly died, or else with shame they lived. All which tragical doings and proceedings of the bishop against these 'known' and 'just-fast-men,' in these tables hereunder following (Christ granting) shall appear, both with the accusers, and with the parties themselves accused, and also the crimes objected.

Longland
a griev-
ous perse-
cutor of
Christ's
people.

But before we enter into the table, it shall be requisite first to hear the order and copy of his captious and crafty interrogatories, whereby he constrained the simple poor men to accuse and impeach one another: which interrogatories were these in order as followeth.

CAPTIOUS INTERROGATORIES MINISTERED COMMONLY BY THE
BISHOP OF LINCOLN, AGAINST THESE EXAMINATES
HERE FOLLOWING.

The interrogatories or articles which Longland, bishop of Lincoln, used most commonly to minister to these examines or 'known-men,' in number were nine, and are these as followeth.

I. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the parish of Amersham had been convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1509

to

1518.

II. Item, Whether they knew that they, so convented before the said bishop, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the church: and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them? Also whether they knew that the said parties so convented did confess their errors, and receive penance for the same?

III. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the society of those so convented for heresy: and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom?

IV. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected, as with Thurstan Littlepage)? And if they were, what conversation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the said person to have been suspected of heresy?

V. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with him; or with him (naming some other person whom they suspected, as Alexander Mastall)? and if they were, how, and how long? and whether they knew the said person to be suspected of heresy?

VI. Item, Whether they or any of them had been beforetime detected of heresy, to the office of the aforesaid William bishop of Lincoln: and if they were, by what person or persons they were detected? or else, whether they only were called by the aforesaid William bishop for heresy?

VII. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for heretics; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of those who were convented for heresy? and whether he or they be named for a 'known-man' amongst them?

VIII. Item, Whether he or they have been ever at any readings of such as have been so convented for heresy?

IX. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret communication or conventicle with them? whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a 'known-man,' or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments and articles of faith? and if they knew any such, to declare where and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time?

These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be showed a certain brief sum compendiously collected out of the registers of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, declaring, in order of a table, the names first of those who by oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse others. Secondly, The persons that were accused. Thirdly, The crimes to them objected; as in the process of this table shall follow to be seen.

And first; forasmuch as the bishop perceived that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such others, were men especially noted to be of that side, therefore, to work his purpose the better, he began with them; producing the same as witnesses, to detect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, and Richard his brother; understanding that these aforesaid witnesses, because they had been abjured before, durst now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but needs confess whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore, because Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the bishop, and sworn upon their oath, would confess nothing against themselves; the bishop, to convict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sore sick in his bed, causing him upon the evangelists to swear, whether he knew the aforesaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be 'known-men.' Which being done, the bishop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset (all Amersham men), who, being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise do

but confess upon their oath that Robert and Richard Bartlet were 'known-men.' And yet the bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two wives, to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Isabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose and give witness against their own natural husbands. Albeit Isabel Bartlet, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confess any thing of her husband, and denied her husband's words to be true; till at last, she being convicted of perjury, was constrained to utter the truth, as in the process of this table following, more particularly followeth to be seen.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1509
to
1518.

A TABLE, DESCRIBING THE GRIEVOUS AFFLICTIONS OF GOOD MEN AND WOMEN IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, UNDER JOHN LONGLAND THE BISHOP; WITH THE NAMES BOTH OF THE ACCUSERS, AND OF THEM THAT WERE ACCUSED: ALSO WITH THE CRIMES TO THEM OBJECTED: OUT OF THE REGISTERS OF THE SAID DIOCESE, A. D. 1521.¹

William Chedwell, sick in his bed; Robert Andrew, Robert Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset, Margaret Bartlet, Isabel Bartlet: these being before abjured, were now compelled by oath to detect

Robert Bartlet, and Richard Bartlet, his brother.

This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, were detected by these afore-said accusers to be 'known-men,' that is, to be of the same company and affinity with these jurats, and others who had been abjured before in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about A. D. 1508; and that in the house of Thomas Harding they were so noted, by the words of Harding's wife, who, speaking to Robert Bartlet, said, That she was glad that he was converted to grace, and chosen to Almighty God; requiring him never to forsake that he was called to; for if he did, there was no sacrifice left for him. Also the said Harding's wife, speaking to Richard Bartlet coming into her house, said, 'Here cometh a good man, and I hope he will be a good man: but he hath so much mind of buying and selling, and taking of farms, that it putteth his mind from all goodness.' 'By which words it appeareth,' said they, 'that he is a 'known-man.' Item, That Robert Bartlet, speaking to Harding's wife, said, he had thought to have called William Tylsworth false heretic; but now he was better advised. Item, That they used the lectures and readings of that company.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his brother, first being sworn, and yet confessing nothing before the bishop, at last were convicted by witness, as above appeareth, and noted therefore of perjury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were constrained at their next examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said; that is, that the said Robert had read unto Richard his brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: 'James the servant of God, to the twelve kinds,' &c. Item, that he heard William Tylsworth say, that images of saints were but stocks and stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of William Tylsworth. Item, That he partly believed Thomas Mastal, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the sacrament; and

For reading scripture in English.

(1) Had we no other evidence but these registers of bishop Longland, we should have abundant testimony to prove that the church of Rome is an enemy to the diffusion of the word of God. Let the reader peruse the nature of the charges preferred against the above honest and well-disposed persons; let the crimes alleged be weighed against the punishments inflicted; let the source from whence the persecution arose; the object against which Romish vengeance was principally directed, be respectively, dispassionately, and attentively considered, and it will not now excite surprise, that infidelity and Romanism are twin-sisters, leagued in impious companionship, to quench the spirit of religion, to suppress the word of God, and to subvert the course of pure and undefiled Christianity.—Ed.

*Henry
VIII.*

likewise of images and pilgrimages. Item, for receiving the communion at Easter without shrift, &c.

*A.D.
1518
to
1521.*

Robert Bartlet brought to examination, was caused by his oath to detect these persons :

Richard, his Brother.

*The brother
detecteth
the brother.*

The crime whereof Robert Bartlet impeached his brother Richard was this : Because, he said, his brother Richard had been much conversant with Thurstan Littlepage, and had learned of him the counsels and secrets of those men : also that he had learned of him some of the epistle of St. James, thus beginning : ' James the servant of God, to the twelve kinds,' &c.

Isabel Bartlet, his Wife.

*The husband
detecteth
the wife.*

The cause wherein Robert Bartlet did detect his wife, was this : That when the bishop's servant was come for her husband, she uttered these words, saying, ' Alas ! he was now an undone man, and she but a dead woman.

Furthermore, the said Robert being demanded of the bishop, whether he knew Isabel his wife to be of the sect of heretics before he married her, said, ' Yea.' Being asked again, if she had not been of that sect, whether then he would have married her ? he granted the same likewise.

Agnes Wellis, his Sister.

*The brother
accuseth
the sister.*

Furthermore, the said Robert Bartlet detected his own sister, in that he had twice instructed her not to worship images, and also had taught her in the epistle of St. James.

The said Robert Bartlet detected also these to be of the number of ' known-men,' for that they resorted many times together, reading and conferring among themselves, and talking against worshipping of images, and pilgrimage. And if any came in amongst them that were not of their side, then they would say no more, but keep all silence, &c.

Elizabeth Dean, wife of Richard Dean of West Wycombe, Emme Tylsworth, wife of William Tylsworth, William Grinder and his wife, John Scrivener, Alexander Mastal, William Tylsworth, Thurstan Littlepage, and John Bartlet, his brother.

Richard Bartlet, by his oath, was constrained to detect the following person :

Agnes Wellis, wife of John Wellis, his Sister.

*The brother
accuseth
his sister.*

This Agnes was detected of her brother in three points ; first, for learning the epistle of St. James in English of Thurstan Littlepage ; secondly, for not believing the bodily presence in the sacrament ; thirdly, for speaking against worshipping of images, and going on pilgrimages.

Also old Father Bartlet, his own Father.

*The pope's
God
Almighty
thresheth
out of the
straw.*

This Richard Bartlet also in his confession said of his father, that he was a better man than he was taken for : for the other day there came a man to him as he was threshing, and said, ' God speed, father Bartlet, ye work sore : ' ' Yea,' said he, ' I thresh God Almighty out of the straw ! ' 1

Against this Agnes Wellis brought and examined before the bishop, were ministered these interrogatories, which for certain causes I thought here to insert, for our posterity to note and consider ; and they are these that follow :

(1) How flagrant must be the idolatry of the popish service at the elevation and adoration of the host, to have provoked a rustic of the sixteenth century to utter such a bitter sarcasm !—*Ed.*

Articles ministered to Agnes Wellis.

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1518
to
1521.

I. Whether she knew that certain of the parish of Amersham were convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

II. Item, Whether she knew that certain of them, so convented before the bishop for heresy, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in other sacraments, and what errors they were, and wherein?

III. Item, Whether she knew any others to be suspected of the same heresy or sect, beside those of Amersham so convented? who they were, and how many?

IV. Item, Whether she had been of the same company, or sect, or opinion with them that were convented before the bishop for heresy? and if she were, what company she used, and whose?

V. Item, Whether she was at any time conversant with Thurstan Littlepage? and if she were, how oft she had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?

VI. Item, Whether she knew and had been conversant with Alexander Mastal? and if she were, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him suspected for heresy?

VII. Item, Whether she was ever detected to the office of William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, at what time, or since the time that Littlepage and Mastal were convented before the bishop for heresy? and whether she was then called and convented before the bishop for heresy, or not?

VIII. Item, Whether she had been, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the same sect with Thurstan Littlepage, or others convicted of heresy? and whether she be, or hath been nominated for a 'known woman' among them?

IX. Item, Whether she had been present at any time at the readings or conferrings between Thurstan Littlepage and other convicts?

X. Item, Whether Thurstan Littlepage did ever teach her the epistle of St. James, or the epistles of St. Peter or Paul in English? and whether she had repeated oftentimes the epistle of St. James unto the said Thurstan, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her brother?

For reading the
Scripture
in English.

XI. Item, Whether Richard Bartlet her brother did teach her at any time the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

XII. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other in the aforesaid sect, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but only the substance of bread?

XIII. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be used, nor the images of saints to be adored?

XIV. Item, Whether she did credit the said Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premises? and whether she did believe or expressly consent with them in the foresaid articles?

XV. Item, Whether Robert Bartlet her brother did ever teach her the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and where?

XVI. Item, Whether the said Robert Bartlet had taught her, that pilgrimage was not to be used, and that images were not to be adored?

XVII. Item, Whether she knew such a law and custom among them, that such as were of that sort did contract matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

XVIII. Item, Whether she did ever hear Thurstan or any other say, that they only who were of their doctrine were true Christians?

XIX. Item, When she came to receive, and was confessed, whether she did utter and confess her heresies to the priest?

Unto these captious and cruel interrogatory articles ministered against Agnes Wellis, she answered negatively almost to all of them, refusing to utter any person unto the bishop. But soon after, being otherwise schooled, I cannot tell how, by the catholics, she was compelled to detect both herself, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurstan Littlepage, and also Isabel Morwin, wife of John Morwin, &c.

Henry
VIII.

Examination of Isabel Bartlet.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.She ex-
cuseth
her own
words.

Isabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the bishop: where she being asked whether she spake these words following to her husband, at the coming of the bishop's man: 'Alas! now are you an undone man, and I but a dead woman?' First, she stood in long denial of the same; and although her husband gave witness against her, yet stood she that her husband said not truth. At last she was compelled to grant those words to be spoken; and then being asked what she meant by them? thus she excused herself, that her husband had been unkind to her a long time, and therefore she desired to depart from him; whereupon now for sorrow she spake these words, &c. which words her husband did excuse something otherwise, saying, that his wife spoke those words between the threshold and the hall-door, because of a vehement fear for the loss of her goods.

Also she accused Richard Hobbes of Hichenden; Henry Hobbes of Hichenden; Herne's wife: Herne widow of Amersham: Thomas Cowper of Amersham, husbandman.

William Chedwel of Amersham accused John Stamp, wheeler, of Amersham; and Alice Harding, wife of Thomas Harding. The crime laid to Alice Harding was this: because when the priest was coming to Richard Bennet to give him the housel, she went before, and instructed him what he should do.

Roger Bennet, by like compulsion of his oath, was caused to detect these persons:

William Rogers, tiler; William Harding, Roger Harding. These were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they being admonished to appear before the bishop's chancellor at Amersham, neglected so to do.

For
English
books.

John Jennings, servant to James Morden; George, servant of Thomas Tochel; and Thomas Gray, servant of Roger Bennet. These were detected for carrying about certain books in English.

William Smith, wheeler; the wife of John Milsent; the wife of W. Rogers; Ro. Stamp and his wife; also the wife of Robert Bartlet. These good women here named were detected to the bishop by Roger Bennet, for that upon the holidays, when they go and come from the church, they use to resort unto one J. Collingworth's house, and there to keep their conventicle.

The wife of David Lewis, and her father. This woman was charged for speaking these words: That the churchmen in the old time did lead the people as the hen doth lead her chickens; but our priests do now lead the people to the devil.

Thomas Rowland, put likewise to his oath, did detect

Ex Re-
gist. fol.
10.

Agnes Frank, wife of William Frank, because she turned away her face from the cross, as it was carried about on Easter day in the morning of the resurrection. Also J. George, J. Gardiner, J. Samme, and James Morden.

John Scrivener, the elder; for carrying about books from one to another.

James Morden, compelled in like manner by his oath, did detect

See
Appendix.

Thomas Rowland; for these words following: 'If I lie, curse, storm, swear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat; I pray you, good master of mine, if I offend in any of these nine, amend me with a good scourging.'

James Morden, compelled in like manner by his oath, did detect

Thomas Chase; because he heard him twice recite the epistle of St. James, beginning, 'James, the servant of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve kinds,' &c. Also for these words: 'It was in the days of Herod, king of the Jews, that there was a priest, Zachary by name, and he came of the sort of Abias, and his wife of the daughters of Aaron; both they were just before God, going in all the commandments,' &c.

Also William Norton, and Agnes Ashford, of Chesham. The cause laid to this Agnes was for teaching this James Morden the words following: 'We be the salt of the earth; if it be putrefied and vanished away, it is nothing worth.

A city set upon a hill may not be hid. Teen ye not a candle, and put it under a bushel, but set it on a candlestick, that it may give a light to all in the house. So shine your light before men, as they may see your works, and glorify the Father that is in heaven. No tittle nor letter of the law shall pass over till all things be done.' And five times went he to the aforesaid Agnes to learn this lesson. Item, That the said Agnes did teach him to say this lesson: 'Jesus, seeing his people, as he went up to a hill, was set, and his disciples came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poor men in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. Blessed be mild men, for they shall weld the earth.' And twice he came to her to learn this lesson.¹

And these lessons the said Agnes was bid to recite before six bishops, who straightway enjoined and commanded her, that she should teach those lessons no more to any man, and especially not to her children.²

The aforesaid James Morden detected Richard Ashford, smith; also Agnes Ashford, and Thomas Chase; because these two did exhort him thrice, that he should keep the things they spake of, as secret in his stomach, as a man would keep a thief in prison. Accuser.

Thomas Tredway of Chesham: also Robert Pope, John Morden, and his wife; because they were heard, in the presence of this James Morden their nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their house in English.³

Alice Atkins, because of him she learned the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Creed in English, and the five Marvels of St. Austin; also another piece of an English book, beginning, 'Here ensue four things by which a man may know whether he shall be saved,' &c. Also Marian Morden, his own sister, because she did not worship images; and after these little things he intended to teach her of the sacrament. Also he detected W. Africke or Littlepage, John Africke or Littlepage, Emme Harding or Africke, and John Phip, physician.

To this James Morden, with other abjurers, it was enjoined by bishop Smith, for seven years to visit the church of Lincoln twice a year from Amersham. And when divers had got license of the bishop, for length of the journey, to visit the image of our Lady of Missenden for the space of five years, this James Morden, when he could not obtain license so to do, yet notwithstanding, for the tediousness of the way, went with them to the same image; and thereupon was charged for violating the bishop's injunction.

Also because, to get his living, he wrought half a year out of the diocese, when he had been enjoined by the bishop not to go out of the diocese of Buckingham.⁴

This James Morden confessed, that he used his Pater Noster and Creed so much in English, that he had forgotten many words thereof in Latin; and therefore was enjoined by bishop Smith to say it no more in English, but only in Latin; and because he kept not this injunction, he fell therefore into relapse.

Roger Bennet, by like compulsion of his oath, was caused to detect these following to be 'known persons': William Rogers, tiler, and his wife; W. Harding; Roger Harding; Joan Jennings; George, servant to Thomas Tochel; Thomas Gray, servant of Roger Bennet; Agnes Franke; Joan Collingworth; W. Smith; the wife of John Milsent; Robert Stampe and his wife; the wife of Robert Bartlet; the wife of David Lewis of Henley; John Frier, servant to Master Penn; John Tracher; John Morden's wife; Richard Ashford; W. Littlepage, some time apprentice of John Scrivener; Emme his wife; John Scrivener: also Isabel Morwin, for teaching Copland's wife her errors. Accuser.

Thomas Halfeaker, sworn upon his oath, did detect these persons here following: John Milsent and his wife; Roger Harding and his wife; Thomas Bernard; Thomas Afrike and his wife; W. Rogers; W. Harding and his wife; Katharine Bartlet, the mother of Robert and Richard Bartlet; Thomas Harding and his wife; W. Frank and Agnes his wife: because these, coming to the church, and especially at the elevation-time, would say no prayers, but did sit mum (as he termed it) like beasts. Also Katharine Bartlet, because she, being

(1) Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 11.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Fol. 15.

(4) Fol. 11.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521The great
abjuration
was
A. D. 1511.

of good health, came but seldom to the church, but feigned herself sick. And because William Frank married Agnes his wife, she being before abjured.

This Halfeaker also detected Robert Pope, because he fled away when the great abjuration was at Amersham; also for having certain English books: ¹ Also Emme Afrike, alias Harding; John Afrike; Henry Milner; Herne's wife, now the wife of Waiver; William Tilseworth; Emme Tilseworth, of London; Thomas Tilseworth and his wife; the wife of Robert Tilseworth; William Glasbroke; Christopher Glasbroke, miller; Thomas Grove and Joan his wife; Thomas Man, by Bristol.

Thomas Holmes detected Henry Milner, counted for a great heretic, and earned in the Scripture; John Schepard; the wife of John Schepard of Dorney; the elder daughter of Roger Harding of Amersham; Nicholas Stokeley, cooper, and his wife, of Henley; John Clerke; Thomas Wilbey of Henley; W. Stokeley; Hobs, with his sons, of Hichenden; the wife of John Scrivener, smith, of Woburn; Thomas Clerke the elder; Thomas Clerke the younger; Wigmer, farmer, of Hichenden; Robert Carder, weaver; John Frier, servant to Master Penn; John Morwin and Isabel his wife; Elizabeth Hover, wife of Henry Hover of Little Missenden; Richard White, fuller, of Beaconsfield. Andrew Randal and his wife of Rickmansworth: because they received into their house Thomas Man flying for persecution, and for reading Wickliff's Wicket. Also the father of Andrew Randal.

Also Bennet Ward, fuller. This Bennet Ward was denounced by John Merston, for saying, 'That it booteth no man to pray to our Lady, nor to any saint or angel in heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of man's soul.'

Also the said Thomas Holmes denounced the wife of Bennet Ward and her daughter, for saying that Thomas Pope was the devoutest man that ever came in their house; for he would sit reading in his book to midnight many times.

Also he denounced Thomas Tailor and his wife of Uxbridge; Robert Quicke; Robert Cosine; Thomas Clerke and his wife of Ware; one Geldener about Hertford; John Say and W. Say his son, of Little Missenden; the wife of John Wellis of Amersham; Joan Glasbroke, sister to William Glasbroke of Harrow on the Hill; Thomas Susan, wheeler; John a Lee, smith; John Austy, shearman; John Frier; Edmund Harding; John Heron, carpenter of Hambleton; Henry Miller. Also John Phips. He was very ripe in the Scripture. Emme wife of Richard Tilseworth. John Phip. He was a reader or rehearser to the other. John Say of Missenden; William Stokeley; also Roger Squire, for saying to Holmes, 'This is one of them that make all this business in our town with the bishop; I pray God tear all the bones of him!'

Also Roger Herne, and a certain tanner.

For reading
the
Scripture
in Eng-
lish.

The said Thomas Holmes also detected John Butler, carpenter; Richard Butler; William King, of Uxbridge: these three sat up all night in the house of Durdant of Iver Court by Staines, reading all the night in a book of Scripture.

Also John Mucklyf, weaver, for speaking against holy bread and holy water; and Thomas Man, for saying that Christ was not substantially in the sacrament.

Thomas Stilman, and Jenkin Butler, for receiving an English book given him by Carder his father, who, after his abjuration done before bishop Smith, fell sick and died.

Accuser.

Thomas Holmes also detected these: Richard Vulfard, of Riselip; one Hackar; Thomas King. Also Joan Cocks, the wife of Robert Wywood, husbandman; for desiring of Durdant her master, that he, being a 'known-man,' would teach her some knowledge of God's law; and desiring the same also of the Butlers.

Robert Carver, of Iver, detected these: Nicholas Durdant, of Staines; Davy Durdant, of Ankerwick; the wife of old Durdant; the wife of Nicholas Durdant. These were detected, for that old Durdant of Iver-court, sitting at dinner with his children and their wives, bidding a boy there standing to depart out of the house, that he should not hear and tell, did recite certain places unto them out of the Epistles of St. Paul, and of the Gospels.

Richard White, father-in-law to Bennet Ward of Beaconsfield. He was detected, by Robert Carder, to be a 'known-man,' because, after the death of bishop Smith, he was heard to say these words; 'My lord that is dead, was a good man, and divers known-men were called before him, and he sent them home again, bidding them that they should live among their neighbours as good christian men should do.' 'And now,' said he, 'there is a new bishop, who is called a blessed man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the servants of God, but will let them be in quiet.'

Henry
VIII.
A D.
1518
to
1521

Marian Morden was forced upon her oath to utter, James Morden, her own brother, for teaching her the Pater Noster, Ave, and Creed in English; and that she should not go on pilgrimage nor should worship saints or images, which she had not done by the space of six years past, following and believing her brother.

James Morden was forced upon his oath to utter, John Littlepage; Henry Littlepage; William Littlepage; Joan Littlepage; Richard Morden, his brother, of Chesham; and Emme his wife: Alice Brown, of Chesham; Radulph Morden his brother, of Chesham, and his wife; John Phips; Elizabeth Hamon.

Thomas Coupland, forced by his oath, detected a canon of Missenden; Thomas Grove, of London; Isabel Morwin; the wife of Norman of Amersham; Thomas Cowper, of Woodrow: also Roger Harding, and W. Grinder; because these two could not say their creed in Latin. Coupland also detected the wife of Robert Stamp of Woodrow.

T. Rowland, T. Coupland, Richard Stephens, and Roger Bennet, were forced by their oath to accuse, Thomas Harding, of Amersham, and Alice Harding his wife, because, after their abjuration in bishop Smith's time, divers 'known-men,' as they then termed them, who were abjured before, had much resort to their house. Also they accused Agnes Squire, for speaking these words: 'Men do say, I was abjured for heresy; it may well be a napkin for my nose, but I will never be ashamed of it.'

John Sawcoat, upon his oath, did impeach the vicar of Little Missenden; also Thomas Grove, and his wife. Grove was detected, for that he did give to Dr. Wilcocks twenty pounds, to excuse him that he might not be brought to open penance.

Also Thomas Holmes, for that he was heard to say these words, after the great abjuration, when he had abjured, that 'the greatest cobs were yet behind;' and Richard Sanders of Amersham, because he ever defended them that were suspected to be 'known-men.' Also because he bought out his penance, and carried his badge in his purse.

Bishop Longland, seeking how to convict John Phip of perjury (who, being charged with an oath, did not answer affirmatively unto such suspicions as were laid unto him by Thomas Holmes and other several accusers), did examine Sybil Africk, his own sister, upon her oath to detect John Phip, her brother, of relapse; but she so answered, that the bishop could take by her no great hold of relapse against him. Wherein is to be noted the singular iniquity and abuse in the church of Rome, which, by virtue of oath, setteth the sister to procure the brother's blood. The like also was sought of Thomas Africk, his sister's husband; but they had by him no advantage.

Jenkin Butler did impeach John Butler, his own brother, for reading to him in a certain book of the Scripture, and persuading him to hearken to the same: also Robert Carder; Richard Butler, his brother; Henry Vulman, of Uxbridge; Richard Ashford, of Walton (otherwise called Richard Nash, or Richard Tredway); and William King, of Uxbridge.

He did also detect the following: Isabel Tracher, wife of John Tracher, because she came not to the church oftener on the work-days, being admonished both by the churchwardens, by the graduates of the church, and by Dr. Cock's commissary, but followed her business at home. Also because she purposed to

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.

set her daughter to Alice Harding, saying, that she could better instruct her than many others. Also, because she cursed the priest after he was gone, who had given to her the eucharist, saying, that he had given to her bitter gall. Also Jenkin Butler did detect Thomas Clement, of Chesham.

William Ameriden did detect Alice Holting, for that she, being great with child, did dine before she went to church to take her rites; saying, that Isabel Trecher did so tell her, that she might dine before she received the sacrament.

Also William Trecher, of Amersham; for keeping Thomas Grove in his house on Easter and Christmas-day, because he would not come to the church.

Accuser.

Joan Norman did impeach Robert Cosine, and Thomas Man; also Alice Harding, for dissuading from pilgrimage, from worshipping of images, and from vowing money to saints for health of her child. Also for saying, that she needed not to confess to a priest, but that it was enough to lift up her hands to heaven. Also for saying, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before mass, as any other day, &c.

Accuser.

John Scrivener, forced by his oath, did accuse the following persons: Henry Miller, wire-drawer, who from Amersham fled to Chelmsford: that he abjured and did penance in Kent before, and afterwards coming to Amersham, taught them (as he said) many heresies.

John Barret, goldsmith, of London; with Joan Barret, his wife; and Jude, his servant: because he, John Barret, was heard in his own house, before his wife and maid there present, to recite the epistle of St. James, which epistle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book. Also Joan his wife, because she had lent to this John Scrivener the gospel of St. Matthew and Mark, which book he gave to bishop Smith.

The aforesaid John Scrivener was also forced by his oath to accuse the following persons: John Merrywether, his wife, and his son; Durdant by Staines; Old Durdant; Isabel, wife of Thomas Harding; Hartop, of Windsor; Joan Barret, wife of John Barret, of London; Henry Miller; one Stilman, tailor. All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdant's daughter they assembled together in a barn, and heard a certain epistle of St. Paul read; which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same.

Thomas Rowland, of Amersham. It was objected to Rowland for speaking these words: 'Ah, good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongst us when your master was alive?'

Thomas Grove, of London, butcher; William Glasbroke, of Harrow on the Hill; Christopher Glasbroke, of London; William Tilseworth, of London, goldsmith (apprentice sometime to John Barret). These were impeached because they used to resort and confer together of matters of religion in the house of Thomas Man, of Amersham, before the great abjuration.

John Newman was impeached, because he was present in the house of John Barret, at the reading of Scripture.

Father
Robert,
martyr.

John Wood, of Henley; William Wood; Lewis, of Henley, a serving-man; Wilie, and his son. This Wilie was impeached because he taught the gospel of Matthew to John Wood and William Wood, after the great abjuration; and father Robert did teach them St. Paul's epistle, which old father was after that burned at Buckingham.

Accuser.

William Littlepage, forced by his oath, did accuse the following persons: Thurstan Littlepage, and Emmie his wife. This Thurstan had taught him the saying of Solomon, that 'wrath raiseth chiding'; had taught him also the Pater Noster and Ave in English. His Creed in English he learnt of his grandmother. The said Thurstan also taught him, Christ not to be corporally in the sacrament.

John Littlepage, his brother, and Alice, wife of Thurstan Littlepage; because the said John was said to have learned the ten commandments in English of Alice, Thurstan's wife, in his father's house. John Frier: because he had taught him, the said William, the Ten Commandments in English.

Also Thomas Grove; Herne's wife; the wife of John Morwin; Richard Bartlet: Robert Bartlet; Thomas Bernard.

Likewise Joan Clerk, of Little Missenden; for saying she never did believe in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would believe in it. John Horne, of Aunbleden.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.

1518

to

1521.

John Gardiner did appeach the following persons: his sister, Agnes Ward; Ward's wife, of Marlow; and Nicholas Stokeley; because that when this Gardiner said, 'God help us, and our Lady, and all the saints of heaven;' then she said, 'What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?'

Also William Stokeley; the wife of William Deane; William Ramsey, of Newbery; John Simon's wife, of Marlow; John Gray, of Marlow; Davy Schirwood; William Schirwood; Raynold Schirwood.

John Say did detect Christopher Shoemaker; John Okenden; and Robert Pope. This Christopher Shoemaker had been burned a little before, at Newbury. Accuser

Bishop Longland, seeking matter against Isabel Morwin (of whom he could take no great advantage by examination), called and caused Elizabeth Copland, her own sister, to testify against her in manner as followeth: First, because in talk together, coming from their father being at the point of death, Isabel said to her sister Elizabeth, that all who die, either pass to hell or heaven: 'Nay,' said the other, 'there is between them purgatory.' Again; when Elizabeth came from the rood of rest, Isabel said, that if she knew so much as she had heard, she would go no more on pilgrimage while she lived; for all saints, said she, be in heaven. Then asked Elizabeth, wherefore pilgrimage was ordained by doctors and priests? The other said, for gain and profit. 'Who hath taught you this?' quoth Elizabeth, 'man or woman? Your curate, I dare say, never learned you so.' 'My curate,' said she, 'will never know so much.' And moreover, Isabel said to Elizabeth her sister, that if she would keep counsel, and not tell her husband, she would say more. And when Elizabeth answered that she would not tell: 'But,' saith the other, 'I will have you to swear:' and because she would not swear, the other would not proceed any further. Accuser.

Alice Brown was forced by her oath to detect John Tracher, of Chesham. The cause why this John Tracher was denounced was this: for that he taught her in the gospel this saying of Jesus, 'Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' Also because he taught her the eight beatitudes in English. Accuser.

Likewise Enme Tilseworth, because she refused to detect others by virtue of her oath, and denied such matter as by witness and by the bishop's acts were proved against her; in pain of relapse the bishop enjoined her to make certain faggots of cloth, and to wear the same both before her upper garment and behind so long as she lived.

W. Phips was forced by his oath to detect Thomas Africke, for asking how his cousin, Widmore Clerk the elder, and John Phip did at Hitchenden? whether they kept the laws of God as they were wont? Accuser.

Also he detected Roger Parker, deceased; John Phip, for saying that images are not to be worshipped, because they are made and carved with man's hand, and that such ought not to be worshipped; John Gardiner, for that to the said William, this Gardiner said, that all who are burned for this sect are true martyrs. Also John Stilman.

John Butler, by his oath, was forced to detect Thomas Geoffrey, first of Uxbridge, then of Ipswich, tailor; for reading and teaching him in the Acts and preachings of the Apostles. Accuser.

Item, for having a Scripture-book in English; which book the said Geoffrey gave to the bishop of London when he was accused.

Item, that the said Geoffrey said, that true pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and visit the poor, weak, and sick; for they are the true images of God.

Also he was forced to detect Richard Vulford. This Vulford and Thomas Geoffrey told the said John Butler, that the Host consecrated was not the very true body of Christ; in proof whereof they said, that let a mouse be put in the pix with the Host, and the mouse would eat it up. And for more proof they declared unto the said John Butler, that there were two priests in Essex, who put a mouse in the pix to a consecrated Host, and the mouse did eat it: afterward,

A story of
a mouse
put into
the pix.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.Dr. Colet
com-
mended,

the fact of these priests being known, and brought to the bishop, one of the priests was burned for the same.

The aforesaid John Butler did also detect John Clerke, of Denham, for that the same Vulford and Geoffrey told him and the said John Clerke, that holy bread and holy water were but a vain-glory of the world; for God never made them, but they were men's inventions; and that God neither made priests, for in Christ's time there were no priests. Moreover, that Thomas Geoffrey caused this John Butler divers Sundays to go to London, to hear Dr. Colet.

Also John Butler detected Andrew Fuller, of Uxbridge, because this John Butler had an old book of Richard Vulford. Also another great book of Andrew Fuller, for which he paid six shillings and fourpence; and another little book of Thomas Man, which he brought to the bishop.

Moreover, this Thomas Man was impeached, because he read to this deponent ten years ago, how Adam and Eve were expelled out of Paradise; and for speaking against pilgrimage, and worshipping of images, and against the singing-service used then in churches.—This Thomas Man was burnt and died a martyr, of whom mention is made before, page 208.

William King. This William King was appeached because he lodged Thomas Man in his house upon a certain holy day at divine service; unto whom resorted Richard Vulford, and John Clerke, and this John Butler: to whom the said Thomas Man declared that pilgrimage was nought, and that images were not to be worshipped.

The aforesaid John Butler did likewise detect Robert Carder; one Durdant; Richard Butler, his own brother; and William King: to these was laid, that Thomas Carder brought this John Butler to Durdant's house at Iver-court by Staines, where was Richard Butler his brother, and William King, reading in a certain English book; at which time Durdant desired them not to tell that he had any such English book in his house, lest he should be burned for the same.

Also another time, that he, the aforesaid John Butler, with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder, went to the house of Richard Ashford or Nash, to hear the same Ashford read in a certain little book, but which contained many good things.

Richard Vulman, of London.—This Vulman was detected upon this, for that he would have read to this John Butler a certain English book, and spake against pilgrimages and images.

Accuser.

John Butler was also compelled by his oath to detect Henry Vulman and his wife, of Uxbridge; Rafe Carpenter, of London; a daughter of John Phip; a daughter of William Phip. This Rafe Carpenter was detected for having certain books of the Apocalypse in English. Also for that this Carpenter and his wife did bring him, and the wife of Henry Vulman, to a corner house of Friday-street, where the good man of the house, having a stump foot, had divers such books, to the intent they should hear them read.

R. Butler, Jenkin Butler, his own brethren; the mother of Richard Ashford; and J. Butler his other brother: these were detected, partly for holding against the sacrament of the altar; partly also because they were reading two hours together in a certain book of the Acts of the Apostles, in English, at Chesham, in Ashford's house.

For reading
books
in Eng-
lish.

Also the wife of Robert Pope, for having certain books in English, one bound in boards, and three with parchment coverings, with four other sheets of paper written in English, containing matter against the Romish religion. Also another book of the service of the Virgin Mary in English.

John Phip was compelled by his oath to detect Thomas Stilman, for that he told William Phip, how that he, being in Lollards' tower, did climb up the steeple where the bells were, and there, cutting the bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and so by them slipped down into Paul's church-yard, and escaped.

Accuser

Thomas Tredway compelled by his oath to detect John Morden, of Ashley-green, and Richard Ashford, his brother. These were accused and detected, because John Morden had in his house a book of the Gospels, and other chap-

ters, in English, and read three or four times in the same; in which book his brother Ashford also did read once. Item, because John Morden spake against images, and said these words: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ saith in his gospel, Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it,' &c.

Tredway also detected Agnes Ashford, his own mother, for teaching him that he should not worship the images of saints.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Likewise Joan Bernard, being accused by Robert Copland, was sworn by her oath to detect Thomas Bernard her own natural father, for speaking against pilgrimage, against worshipping of saints, and against dirges, and praying for the dead; and for warning his daughter not to utter any of all this to her ghostly father.

Accuser.
Joan Bernard detecting her own father.

The like oath also was forced on Richard Bernard, that he should in like manner detect Thomas Bernard his own natural father, for teaching him not to worship images, nor to believe in the sacrament of the altar, but only in God who is in heaven; and that he should not utter the same to the priest.

Richard Bernard detecting his own father.

The vicar of Iver, and Richard Tailor witness, accused Richard Carder, for defending the cause of Jenkin Butler, and for saying that the bishop did him injury.

Accusers.

Item, for saying, that if he had known the bishop's man would have fetched him so to the bishop, he would have given him warning thereof before.

Item, for saying, that if he should call him, he would confess nothing, although he burned him.

Agnes Carder, wife of Richard Carder, detected Richard Carder, her husband, for saying that he suspected that she was too familiar with the vicar of Iver; and when she answered again, How could he be evil with her, seeing he saith mass every day, and doth confess himself before? Then her husband said, that he could confess himself to a post, or to the altar.

Accusers.

Here note, that the bishop then examining her of that offence, whether she was culpable, and whether she was commonly in the voice of the people defamed with him or no? she confessed it so to be. Whereupon no other penalty or penance for that crime of adultery was enjoined her of the bishop, but only this, that she should frequent the vicar's house no more.

John Clerke, of Denham, forced by his oath to detect Richard Vulford, of Riselip, for speaking against images, pilgrimages, oblations, and against the sacrament of the altar

Accuser.
Against images.

Item, When this John Clerke had made a weele for fish, Richard Vulford coming by asked him, when he had made his weele, whether the weele now could turn again, and make him? and he said, No. 'Even so,' quoth he, 'God hath made all priests, as thou hast made the weele; and how can they turn again, and make God?'

See Appendix.

Also John Clerke detected John Butler.

John Mastal detected the daughter of John Phip, of Hichenden, for saying, that she was as well-learned as was the parish priest, in all things except only in saying of mass.

Accuser.

Robert Rowland, William Frank, Thomas Houre, Thomas Rowland, Joan Frank, John Baker, all detected certain persons, namely Alice Saunders, wife of Richard Sanders, of Amersham, for giving twelve-pence to Thomas Holmes, to buy a certain book in English for her daughter; to whom Thomas Holmes answered again, that a noble would not suffice to buy it. Another time, for giving six-pence to the buying of a certain book in English, which cost five marks. Another time Thomas Houre coming from Woburn, she asked, What news? and he said, that many were there condemned of heresy, and therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then said she, If he did so, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her husband, and after was put from his holy-water clerkship in that town. Another time, for saying to Thomas Rowland these words: 'Ye may see how Thomas Houre and others, who

Accusers.

Henry VIII

laboured to have heretics detected before bishop Smith, are brought now to beggary; you may take example by them.'

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Joan Franke, William Franke the elder, William Franke the younger, and Alice Tredway detected Joan Collingborne, for saying to one Joan Timberlake, and Alice Tredway, ten years ago, That she could never believe pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that saints were to be worshipped; and desired them not to tell their curate: which Alice immediately caused her to be called before the bishop.

Accuser.

William Carder upon his oath was forced to detect Isabel Tracher, his mistress, the wife of William Tracher; for that she being not sick, but in good health, and being rebuked divers times of her husband for the same, yet would not go to the church, but tarried at home, and kept her work, as well holy-day as work-day, the space of three years together.

Accusers.
The vicar
of Wy-
combe.

See
Appendix.

Isabel Gardiner and John Gardiner were forced by their oath to detect Thomas Rave, of Great Marlow; for speaking against pilgrimages in the company of John and Elizabeth Gardiner, as he was going to our lady of Lincoln for his penance enjoined by bishop Smith; also the same time as he met certain coming from St. John Shorne, for saying they were fools, and calling it idolatry. Also in the same viage, when he saw a certain chapel in decay and ruin, he said, 'Lo, yonder is a fair milk-house down.'

†

Item, when he came to Lincoln, he misbehaved himself in the chapel, at mass-time, excusing himself afterwards that he did it of necessity. Item, the same time, speaking against the sacrament of the altar, he said, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the Father Almighty: and brought forth this parable, saying, that Christ our Lord said these words when he went from his disciples, and ascended to heaven, that once he was in sinner's hands, and would come there no more. Also that when the said Rave came to Wycombe, there to do his penance, he bound his faggot with a silken lace. Also being demanded of Dr. London, whether he had done his penance in coming to our Lady of Lincoln? he answered, That bishop Smith had released him to come to our Lady of Missenden for six years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, because he did not there register his name, therefore he said he could not prove it.

They likewise detected the wife of Thomas Potter, of Hychenden.

Accuser.

Roger Bennet, forced by his oath to detect the wife of William Tilseworth, now of Hawkwell, for not thinking catholically, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the sacrament of the altar. Also the wife of Robert Stampe, for not accomplishing her penance enjoined by bishop Smith.

Marian Randal, and John Butler. The latter for having of the said Roger Bennet, a certain book in English, containing a 'Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian.'

Accuser.

Against
the sacra-
ment of
the altar.

Richard Vulford detected these persons: his own wife, deceased; and John Clerke, of Denham; for communing with him against images, pilgrimages, and the sacrament of the altar. Also Thomas Gefrey, of Uxbridge, and his wife departed; for communing against the sacrament of the altar, worshipping of saints, pilgrimages, &c.

Henry Vulman of Uxbridge, for speaking and teaching against the sacrament of the altar eleven years ago, and saying it was but a trifle.

Also the mother of William King, of Uxbridge; William King, Robert Carder the elder, John Baker, of Uxbridge.

Accuser.

For read-
ing the
Scripture.

John Scrivener the elder detected Geldener the elder, and his two daughters, for being present and hearkening unto Richard Bennet, reading the epistle of St. James in English. Also Emme, sister of William Tylsworth, martyr; and John Lee, carpenter, of Henley.

Here is to be noted, that in the town of Chesham were two men, one named Robert Hutton, the other John Spark; of which two, the one called the other

heretic, the other called him again thief. Sparke, who called Hutton thief, was condemned to pay for his slander ten shillings; but Hutton, who called the other heretic, paid nothing. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after had certain money stolen, for which the said Sparke her husband sent for the counsel of two friars, who gave him counsel to make two balls of clay, and to put them in the water, and in the same balls to enclose the names of them whom he suspected: and so doing, the said Sparke came to his money again. And this was detected to bishop Longland the same time by Thomas Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquisition made, nor interrogatories ministered, nor witness produced, nor any sentence given.¹

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Witchcraft left unpunished.

John Grosar, being put to his oath, detected Thomas Tykill, Thomas Spencer, and his wife; and John Knight. This John Grosar was examined whether he had a book of the Gospels in English; who confessed that he received such a book of Thomas Tykill, morrow-mass priest in Milk-street, and afterwards lent the same book to Thomas Spencer, which Thomas Spencer with his wife used to read upon the same. After that it was lent to John Knight, who at length delivered the book to the vicar of Rickmansworth.

Accuser.
For having the Scripture in English.

John Funge was forced by his oath to detect Francis Funge, his brother, and Thomas Clerke. Francis Funge was examined for speaking these words to his brother John, which words he had learned of Thomas Clerke: 'If the sacrament of the altar be very God and man, flesh and blood, in form of bread, as priests say that it is, then have we many gods; and in heaven there is but one God. And if there were a hundred houseled in one parish, and as many in another, then there must needs be more than one God. I will not deny but it is a holy thing, but it is not the body of the Lord that suffered passion for us; for he was once in man's hands here, and ill entreated, and therefore he will never come in sinful men's hands again.' Also for speaking these words: 'The pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to release any man's soul from sin, and so from pain; it is nothing but blinding of the people to have their money.' Also for these words, or such like: 'If a man do sow twenty quarters of corn, as wheat, or barley, or other corn, he ought to deduct his seed, and of the residue to tithe, or else he hath wrong,' &c.

Accuser.

Francis Funge and Alice his wife were put to their oath to detect Thomas Clerke, for speaking against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, unto Francis Funge, as before, &c. Also Robert Rave, of Dorney, for saying these words, that the sacrament of the altar is not the body which was born of the blessed Virgin Mary. Item, For speaking such words fourteen years past: That folks were ill occupied, that worshipped any things graven with man's hand; for that which is graven with man's hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of saints. Nor ought we to worship any thing but God and our Lady; and not images of saints, which are but stocks and stones.

Accusers.

Henry Dein, forced by his oath to detect Edmund Hill, of Penne; likewise Robert Freeman, parish-priest of Orton by Colebrook, for having and reading upon a suspected book, which book, when he perceived to be seen in his hand, he closed it, and carried it to his chamber.

Accuser.

John Hill, forced by his oath, did detect Thomas Grove and his wife, of Amersham; also Matild Philby, wife of Edward Philby, of Chalvey; likewise Joan Gun, of Chesham, because she instructed and taught the said Hill, before his abjuration, in the Epistle of St. James, and other opinions. Also William Atkins, of Great Missenden; Richard Murden, of Chesham; Emme Murden, his wife.

Accuser.

William Gudgame, forced by his oath to detect Joan Gudgame, his own wife, for being in the same opinion of the sacrament that he was of; who notwithstanding did swear the same not to be true that her husband said. Also Alice Nash, or Chapman, of Missenden.

Accuser.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 50.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Matild Symonds, and John Symonds her husband, put to their oath, detected one Haggard, of London, for speaking in their house, A. D. 1520, these words : 'That there should be a battle of priests, and all the priests should be slain, and that the priests should awhile rule ; but they should all be destroyed, because they hold against the law of holy church, and for making of false gods ; and after that they should be overthrown.' Item, Another time he said, 'That men of the church should be put down, and the false gods that they make ; and after that, he said, they should know more, and then should be a merry world.'

Accuser.

Thomas Clerke, forced by his oath, did detect Christopher, tinker, of Wycombe. The cause of this tinker's trouble was, for that he coming to this man's house, and complaining to him of the poverty of the world, had these words : That there was never so misgoverned a people ; and that they bare themselves so bold upon pardons and pilgrimages, that they cared not whatsoever they did : and so he departed. And seven days after that, this tinker, coming again, asked him, how his last communication with him did please him ; and he said, Well. Then the tinker said, he knew more, and that he could tell him more : and bade him that he should believe in God in heaven ; for here be many gods in earth, and there, is but one God ; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the day of doom : and that the sacrament of the altar was a holy thing, but not the flesh and blood of Christ that was born of the Virgin ; and charged him not to tell this to his wife, and especially not to his wife's brother, a priest. Afterwards, as the priest was drying singing-bread, being wet, which his sister had bought, the aforesaid Thomas Clerke said, that if every one of these were a god, then were there many gods. To whom the priest answered, That till the holy words were spoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, flesh and blood ; saying moreover, that it was not meet for any layman to speak of such things. These words of the priest being after recited to the tinker by the said Clerke, then said he, 'Let every man say what they will, but you shall find it as I show you,' &c. ; 'and if you will take labour to come to my house, I will show you further proof of it, if you will take heed,' &c.

Accuser.

Robert Pope, first of Amersham, after of West Hendred, caused by his oath, did detect these following : Thomas Africk, alias Littlepage, and his wife. To these was objected, that they had communication and conference with this Robert Pope in the Gospel of St. Matthew, before the great abjuration, in the town of Amersham.

Thomas Scrivener, father to Thomas Holme's wife. This Scrivener was detected, for that the said Pope had of him a book of the Epistles in English.

Bennet Ward, of Beaconsfield, and his father, Edmund Dormer. To Ward, this was laid, that the aforesaid Pope had received a book of the Ten Commandments. He had also the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Of the same Ward he learned his Christ-Cross row : five parts of the eight Beatitudes.

Thomas Harding, and his wife ; John Scrivener, and his wife ; Thomas Man, and his wife ; another Thomas Man, and his wife. These were detected for this, because they had communed and talked with the said Robert Pope oftentimes in books of Scripture, and other matters of religion, concerning pilgrimage, adoration of images, and the sacrament of the Lord's body.

The same Robert Pope did detect these who follow : Thomas Bernard ; Thomas Grove ; Thomas Holmes ; Robert Rave ; William Gudgame, and his wife ; Nash the elder, and his wife ; William Gray, of East Hendred, miller ; Edward Gray and his wife, of East Hendred ; Margery Young, widow, of East Hendred ; Isabel More, sister to the said Margery, of East Hendred ; Richard Nobis, fowler, and his wife, of East Hendred.

Also Richard Colins, of Ginge, and his wife. This Colins was among them a great reader, and had a book of Wickliff's Wicket, and a book of Luke, and one of Paul, and a gloss of the Apocalypse.

Robert Pope did also detect William Colins, brother of Richard. Also Thomas Colins, the father of Richard and William. He had a book of Paul, and a book of small epistles. Also,

John Colins, of Betterton ; Robert Lyvord, of Steventon ; William Lyvord, of Steventon ; father Amershaw, of Steventon ; one Smart, of Steventon, miller ;

Thomas Hall, of Hungerford; John Eden, of Hungerford; John Ludlow, of Hungerford; Thomas New, of Wantage, thatcher; Joan Taylor and her mother, of Bisham; Humfrey Shoemaker, of Newbury; John Semand, of Newbury, fishmonger; Robert Geydon and his wife, of Newbury, weaver; and John Edmunds, of Burford. This John Edmunds was charged for having a book named 'William Thorpe;' also for reading in an English book after a marriage.

Henry VIII.
A.D.
1518
to
1521.

Robert Pope did likewise detect the following: Robert Burges and his wife, of Burford; John Colins, of Burford; John Colins and his wife, of Asthall; John Clerke, of Claufield. This Clerke was heard say, that all the world was as well hallowed as the church or church-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the field, as in the church or church-yard. Also,

William Gun and his wife, of Witney, tanner; John Baker, of Witney, weaver; John Brabant the elder, of Stanlake; John Brabant the younger, of Stanlake; John Kember, of Hennybarkes; Walter Kember his brother, of Hennybarkes; John Rabettes, of Chawley, and Thomas Widmore, of Hichenden; also John Phip, and William Phip, for reading a certain treatise upon the Pater Noster in English, which this John Phip did read to him, and to his father.

This aforesaid Robert Pope moreover detected Edward Pope, his own father, of Little Missenden, for hearing the Gospel of Matthew read unto him, and for communing upon the same with this Robert Pope his son. He detected likewise Edward Pope his brother.

The son
detecting
the
father.

Furthermore, he detected his own wife, who had before abjured under bishop Smith, to continue still in her opinions.

This Robert Pope, being before abjured, did further detect these here following: Thomas Clerke the elder, of Hichenden; Lawrence Herne, of Hichenden; William Haliday, of East Hendred. This Haliday was detected for having in his custody a book of the Acts of the Apostles in English, which the said Robert Pope brought unto him at the taking of Roger Dodd.

For the
Scripture
in Eng-
lish.

William Squire and his brother, of Shaw; Thomas Stephenton and Matild his daughter, of Charney. Also Thomas Philip, painter; and Laurence Tailor, of London; for that these two, being in the house of Richard Colins at Ginge, there did read in an English book the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans; and Laurence did read the first chapter of St Luke's Gospel.

For read-
ing the
Scripture
in Eng-
lish.

Andrew Maysey, of Burton. Also the wife of Richard Colins, of Ginge. John Harris's wife; and Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins. These two, being together at Upton in John Harris's house, did talk of the Apocalypse, and of the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore were suspected, and thus detected.¹ Item, Because John Harris spake against pilgrimage, images, and was heard to talk of seven lean and seven fat oxen.

Robert Colins, of Hertford-Wallis, mason; also Thomas Gray, of West Hendred, for receiving certain books of this Robert Pope. Margaret House, wife of William House, of East Ginge, for keeping company, and receiving the doctrine of Alice Colins.

John Nash, of Little Missenden; Henry Etkin and his mother, of Little Missenden; and Richard Dell, of Missenden.

Robert Colins, being sworn upon the evangelists, did detect Richard Colins, of Ginge, first, for that this Richard Colins did read unto the said Robert Colins the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epistle of St. James, and another small Epistle of Peter; and, after that, took him the Gospel of St. John in English, and bade him read therein himself. Also for teaching him not to worship images, nor to set up candles, nor to go on pilgrimage. Another crime against Richard Colins was because he taught this Robert, that in all such things wherein he offended God, he should only shrive himself to God; and in what things he offended man, he should shrive himself to man. Also for teaching him, that the sacrament of the altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Christ in bread; and that the priest hath no power to consecrate the body of Christ. Also, for that the said Richard did teach him, in Wickliff's Wicket, how that a man may not make the body of our Lord, who made us; and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade; the Son is only begotten, and not made: and how then can man

Accuser.

For read-
ing the
Scripture
in Eng-
lish.

Against
the sacra-
ment of
the altar.

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 71.

<i>Henry VIII.</i> <hr/> A. D. 1518 to 1521.	make that, which is unmade? said he. And in the same book of Wickliff's Wicket follow the words of Christ thus speaking: 'If my words be heresy, then am I a heretic; and if my words be leasings, then am I a liar,' &c. Also another crime against Richard Colins, for having certain English books, as Wickliff's Wicket, the Gospel of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul, James, and Peter in English, an Exposition of the Apocalypse, a book of our Lady's Matins in English, a book of Solomon in English, and a book called 'the Prick of Conscience.'
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For speaking against idolatry.

John Edmunds, of Burford, tailor, and John Harris. The crime against John Edmunds, was for having a certain English book of the commandments. The crime against John Harris was, for communing with him of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God,' &c. Also for communing of a chapter in Matthew, of the eight Beatitudes. Item, Thomas Hall, for counselling him not to go on pilgrimage to saints, because they were idols.

The aforesaid Robert Colins, being sworn upon the Evangelists, did detect also these persons:—Robert Livord; W. Livord; one Bruges and Joan his wife; one Harris and his wife; and Richard Collins. All these were detected, for that they, being together in Bruges's house at Burford, were reading together in the book of the exposition of the Apocalypse, and communed concerning the matter of opening the book with seven clasps, &c.

John Ledisdall, or Edon, of Hungerford; John Colins, of Burford; John Colins and his wife of Asthall; John Clerke, of Claufield. The wife of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Thomas Colins and his wife, of Ginge. This Thomas Colins was charged for having a book of Paul and James in English.

William Colins; Robert Pope, of Henred; one Hakker, of Coleman-street in London. Also Stacy, brickmaker, of Coleman-street, for having the book of the Apocalypse.

Thomas Philip; Laurence Wharfar, of London, for reading the Epistle of St. Peter in English, in the house of Robert Colins, of Asthall.

Joan Colins his own sister, of Asthall; Thomas Colins his cousin, of Asthall; Mistress Bristow, of London; John Colins, son of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Joan Colins, daughter of Richard Colins, of Ginge; Henry Stacy, son of Stacy, of Coleman-street; Thomas Stevenon of Charney, in Berkshire; John Brabant, in Stanlake; and John Baker, weaver, of Witney.

Accuser

John Colins, of Burford, impeached to the bishop the persons here named: Richard Colins. The words of Richard Colins were these: that the sacrament was not the true body of Christ in flesh and blood; but yet it ought to be revered, albeit not so as the true body of Christ:

The son accused the father.

Thomas Colins, of Ginge, his own natural father: the crime against Thomas Colins was, that for eight years past this Thomas Colins the father had taught this John his son, in the presence of his mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he should have but one God, and should worship nothing but God alone; and that to worship saints, and go on pilgrimage, was idolatry. Also, that he should not worship the sacrament of the altar as God, for that it was but a token of the Lord's body: which thing so much discontented this John Colins, that he said he would disclose his father's errors, and make him to be burned; but his mother entreated him not so to do.

Robert Colins, of Asthall. The crime against Robert Colins; that this Robert read to him in a certain thick book of Scripture in English.

John Edmunds and his wife. The crime laid to John Edmunds was for that he read to this John the Ten Commandments, and told him that John Baptist said, that one should come after him, whose buckle of his shoe he was not worthy to undo.

Alice, wife of Gunn, of Witney; and John Hakker and his son, of London. This John Hakker, of London, coming to Burford, brought a book speaking of the ten plagues of Pharaoh. Also after that, another book treating of the seven sacraments.

Laurence Tailor, of Shoreditch; Thomas Philip, of London; Philip, servant of Richard Colins; Waunsell, fishmonger, of the Vise; Joan Robert; Burges's wife; John Boyes and his brother; a monk of Burford; Thomas Baker, father to Gunn's wife, of Whateley; Agnes, daughter of John Edmunds; the mother

of John Boyes, of Sudbury; Edward Red, schoolmaster, of Burford; Robert Hlickman, of Lechelade.

Elenor Higgess, of Burford. This Elenor was charged, that she should burn the sacrament in an oven

John Through, of the priory of Burford. The mother of Robert Burges's wife.

Roger Dods, of Burford, by his oath was compelled to utter the person here named:—Sir John Drury, vicar of Windrish, in Worcestershire. The crime against this sir John Drury was, for that when Roger Dods came first to him to be his servant, he swore him upon a book to keep his counsel in all things; and after that he showed him a certain woman in his house, whom he said to be his wife: counselling moreover the said Roger Dods, upon an Ember day, to sup with bread and cheese; saying, that which goeth into a man's body, defileth not a man's soul; but that which goeth out of the body, defileth both body and soul. Also that the said vicar taught him the A, B, C, to the intent he should have understanding in the Apocalypse, wherein he said, that he should perceive all the falsehood of the world, and all the truth. He said furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of Worcester, and at the blood of Hailes, which had cost him eighteen pence, that he had done as an ill husband that had ploughed his land, and sown it, but nothing to the purpose; for he had worshipped man's handy-work, and cast away his money, which had been better given to the poor: for he should worship but one God, and no handy-work of man. Item, When the people would offer candles, where he was vicar, to Mary Magdalen, he would take them away, and say that they were fools that brought them thither.

Also the same Roger Dods by his oath was compelled to utter these other persons here named:—Elizabeth More, of East Hendred; Robert Pope, of West Hendred; and Henry Miller or Tucke, by Ware. This Henry did show to Roger Dods a certain story of a woman in the Apocalypse, riding upon a red beast. The said Henry was twice abjured.

John Phip, of Hichenden; for reading unto the said Roger Dods a certain Gospel in English.

William Phip, of Hichenden, and Henry his son. This William had exhorted Roger Dods that he should worship no images, nor commit idolatry, but worship one God; and told the same Roger, that it was good for a man to be merry and wise, meaning that he should keep close that was told him; for else strait punishment would follow.

Roger Parker, of Hichenden. This Parker said to John Phip, for burning of his books, that he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred marks. To whom John answered, that he had rather burn his books, than that his books should burn him.

The wife of Thomas Widemore, daughter of Roger House, of Hichenden; old Widemore's wife, sister to John Phip, of Hichenden. Also John Ledis-dall, of Hungerford, for reading of the Bible in Robert Burges's house at Burford, upon Holyrood day, with Colins, Lyvord, Thomas Hall, and others.

Robert Colins and his wife. Also John Colins and his wife, for buying a Bible of Stacy for twenty shillings.

The aforesaid Roger Dods, by his oath, was also compelled to utter these persons here named: The father of Robert Colins, who had been of this doctrine from A.D. 1480. Also Thomas Baker, of Whateley; Robert Livord; John Sympson, of Steventon; Thomas Reiley, of Burford; John Clemson, servant to the prior of Burford; James Edmunds, of Burford; William Gun, of Witney. To these was laid, that they being in the house of John Harris, of Upton, at the marriage of Joan the wife of Robert Burges, did read in a book called Nicodemus's Gospel, who made the cloth which our Lord was buried in (as the register saith), and in that book is the story of the destruction of Jerusalem.

John Baker, weaver, of Witney; the bailiff of Witney; John Hakker; John Brabant and his wife; John Brabant his son, with his wife; John Brabant the younger son, with his wife; Reginald Brabant of Stanlake, for reading in a certain English book of scripture, they being together in John Brabant's house of Stanlake.

Also Henry Phip. The crime and detection against this Henry, was, for that he, being asked of this Dods, A.D. 1515, whether he would go to Wycombe

Henry
VIII.

A.D.

1518

to

1521.

Accuser.

For read-
ing the
Bible in
English

For read-
ing the
Scripture
in
English.

- Henry VIII.* or not? answered, that he was chosen roodman, that is, keeper of the roodloft, saying, that he must go and tind a candle before his 'Block Almighty.'
- A. D. 1518 to 1521. Oliver Smith, of Newline, and his wife; and William Hobbis. This William Hobbis was detected first by Radulph Hobbis his brother, to bishop Smith; but was delivered through the suit of the curate of West Wycombe.
- Accuser. John Edmunds, otherwise called John Ogins, of Burford, did detect Philip Brabant, servant of Richard Colins, for saying that the sacrament of the altar was made in the remembrance of Christ's own body, but it was not the body of Christ.
- Against the bodily presence of the sacrament. The Shepherd's Kalendar was also accused and detected, because the same Edmunds said, that he was persuaded by this book, reading these words, That the sacrament was made in the remembrance of Christ.
- The book called the King of Beeme. The book of William Thorpe likewise was much complained of, both by this John Edmunds and divers others.
- For having the Ten Commandments in English. Richard Colins, of Ginge. This Richard Colins, as he was a great doer among these good men, so was he much complained upon by divers, and also by this Edmunds, for bringing with him a book called 'The King of Beeme' into their company, and that he did read there of a great part unto them, in this Edmund's house of Burford.
- See Addenda. Alice Colins, wife of Richard Colins. This Alice likewise was a famous woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good books; and therefore when any conventicle of these men did meet at Burford, commonly she was sent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epistles of Peter and James.
- The father accuseth his own daughter. Joan Colins, daughter of Richard and of Alice Colins. This Joan also, following her father's and mother's steps, was noted, for that she had learned with her father and mother the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, the five wits bodily and ghostly, the eight blessings, and five chapters of St. James's epistle.
- John Edmunds also did detect Agnes Edmunds, his own daughter. This Agnes Edmunds was detected by her father, that he brought her to the house of Richard Colins to service, to the intent she might be instructed there in God's law; where she had learned likewise the Ten Commandments, the five wits bodily and ghostly, and the seven deadly sins.
- John Edmunds also did detect Alice Gunn, W. Russel, of Coleman-street; one mother Joan; father Joan, of Hungerford; John Taylor, servant of John Harris, of Burford; Thomas Quicke, weaver, of Reading; Philip Brabant, weaver; John Barbar, clerk, of Amersham; John Eding, of Hungerford; one Brabant, brother to Philip Brabant, of Stanlake.
- Accusers. Thomas White, and Thomas Clerke, did impeach Robert Butterfield, and William Dorset. The words of William Dorset were these: That pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering candles or other things to saints, stood in no stead, and was but cost lost. Also when his wife was going on pilgrimage, and he asked, 'Whither?' and she said, 'To our Lady of Willesdon:' 'Our lady,' said he, 'is in heaven.'
- Accuser. John Baker, being urged upon his oath, did disclose John Edmunds. This John Edmunds was detected, because that he, talking with the said Baker, of pilgrimage, bade him go offer his money to the image of God. When the other asked what that was, he said, that the image of God was the poor people, blind and lame; and said, that he offended Almighty God in going on pilgrimage.
- The image of God! William Phip, adjured by his oath, did accuse Henry Phip, his own son, for communing with Roger Dods against pilgrimage and adoration of images.
- Accuser. The father accuseth his own son. Accuser. Henry Phip, being examined and adjured by the bishop, was compelled to disclose his own words spoken to Roger Dods, saying to him, that he must light a candle before his 'Block Almighty,' being then roodman. Also he was compelled to accuse Roger Barker, and William Phip, his own father, for talking together against pilgrimage and idolatry.
- Block Almighty.

John Brabant, the elder son of John Brabant, did nominate the following: John Hakker, and Robert Pope, for reading the holy Scripture in his father's house, and for saying these words: 'Christ made his Maundy,¹ and said, 'Take this bread, eat it; this is my body: Take this wine, drink it; this is my blood: and priests say by these words, that the sacrament of the altar is the body of Christ.'

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.

John Brabant his father, and his mother, for being present when Hakker was reading the Scripture in their house.

Also Philip Brabant, his uncle. The words of Philip Brabant were these: That it was deadly sin to go on pilgrimage.

Concerning this John Brabant, here is to be noted, the form and effect of the bishop's examination, asking and demanding thus of the said Brabant: Whether he ever heard John Hakker read the holy Scripture, against the determination of the church?² By which words, if they mean that it is against the determination of the church to read the holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind church. And if they mean that the holy Scripture containeth any such thing in it which is against the determination of the church, then it appeareth their church to be contrary unto God, seeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.

John Baker did detect Robert Pope, Richard Nobbis, and John Edmunds; for speaking against going on pilgrimage, and against image worship.

John a Lee denounced John a Weedon. When this John a Lee had told the said Weedon, how the bishop had said in his sermon these words; That all who were of the sect of heretics, believed that God was in heaven, but they believed not that the body of Christ on the altar was God. To this he, answering again, said, 'Ye be bold upon that word,' deriding the bishop in so saying.

Also William Dorset, of King's Langley; for saying that images stood for nothing, and that pilgrimage served to spend folks' money, and nothing else.

Joan Steventon denounced Alice Colins, for teaching the said John Steventon, in Lent, the Ten Commandments, thus beginning, 'I am thy Lord God, which led thee out of the land of Egypt, and brought thee out of the house of thraldom: thou shalt have no alien gods before me; neither make to thee any image graven with man's hands, that is in heaven above, neither in the earth beneath,' &c. Item, For teaching her the first chapter of St. John's Gospel: 'In the beginning was the Word,' &c.

Also John Harris, for teaching her the first chapter of Peter.

Sir John,³ a priest, and also Robert Robinson, detected Master Cotismore, of Brightwell. Also Mistress Cotismore, otherwise called Mistress Dolly, for speaking these words to one John Bainton, her servant: That if she went to her chamber, and prayed there, she should have as much merit as though she went to Walsingham on pilgrimage. Item, When the said Sir John came to her after the death of Master Cotismore his master, requiring her to send one John Stainer, her servant, to our Lady of Walsingham, for Master Cotismore, who in his lifetime, being sick, promised in his own person to visit that place, she would not consent thereto, nor let her servant go. Item, for saying, that when women go to offer to images or saints, they did it to show their new gay gear: that images were but carpenters' chips; and that folks go on pilgrimage more for the green way, than for any devotion.

John Hakker did detect Thomas Vincent, of London, to whom it was objected for giving this Hakker a book of St. Matthew in English. Also Mistress Cotismore, otherwise Dolly, and Richard Colins. The latter for receiving of the said Hakker a book of the Ten Commandments in English. Hakker did also detect the following: Goodwife Bristow, of Wood-street, in London; William Gunn, for receiving of Hakker a book of the ten plagues sent of God to Pharaoh; the

(1) "His Maundy," or Mandy, perhaps "Dies Mandati;" thus "Maundy Thursday," the day on which Christ commanded the disciples to eat the Passover.—Ed.

(2) An unquam audivit Johannem Hakker legentem sacram Scripturam contra determinationem Ecclesie?—Ex Regist. Joh. Longland, fol. 85.

(3) "Sir," is the translation of "Dominus," a term still applied to those who have taken their bachelor's degree, and hence "Sir" came to be a term for priests who had graduated.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

wife of Thomas Widmore, of Chichenden; Elizabeth, the daughter of this Hakker, and Robert her husband, otherwise called Fitton of Newbury; William Stokely, of Henley; John Simonds and his wife, of Great Marlow; John Austy, of Henley; Thomas Austy, of Henley; Grinder, of Cookham; and John Heron, for having a book of the exposition of the Gospels fairly written in English.

Accusers.

Thomas Grove, and John of Reading, put to their oath, did detect Richard Grace, for speaking these words following: That our blessed lady was the god-mother to St. Katharine; and therefore the legend is not true, in saying that Christ did marry with St. Katharine; and bid Adrian put on his vestment, and say the service of matrimony; for so Christ should live in adultery ~~for~~ marrying with his godsister; which thing if he should do, he should be thought not to do well. Item, For saying by the picture of St. Nicholas being newly painted, that he was not worthy to stand in the rood-loft, but that it better beseemed him, to stand in the belfry, &c.

In this table above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to see and understand; first, the number and names of these good men and women, troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one year; of whom few or none were learned, being simple labourers and artificers; but as it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English books, such as they could get in corners: Secondly, What were their opinions we have also described: And thirdly, Herein is to be noted moreover the blind ignorance and uncourteous dealing of the bishops against them, not only in that they, by their violent oath and captious interrogatories, constrained the children to accuse their parents, and parents the children, the husband the wife, and the wife the husband, &c.; but especially in that most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, only for the sincere verity of God's Word, and reading of holy Scriptures.

The reasons and probations of their doctrine.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their opinions (which principally in number were four), so also we declare their reasons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded; and after that consequently the order and manner of penance to them enjoined by the bishop. And first, against pilgrimage, and against worshipping of images, they used this text of the Apocalypse, chap. ix.

'I saw horses in a vision, and the heads of them as the heads of lions; smoke, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouths. With these three plagues, the third part of men were slain of the smoke, and of the fire, and of the brimstone, that came out of the mouths of them. They that were not slain of these three plagues, were such as worshipped not devils, and images of gold and silver, of brass, of tree, and of stone.'¹

Wickliff's Wicket. The Shepherd's Kalendar.

Also they used and alleged the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship more gods than one. And as touching the sacrament, and the right doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of Wickliff's Wicket,² partly out of the Shepherd's Kalendar; where they read that the sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his body, &c. Moreover they alleged and followed the words of

(1) Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 72.

(2) "Wickliff's Wicket" was reprinted at the university press at Oxford, in 12mo. 1828 edited by Rev. T. P. Pantin.—Ed.

Christ spoken at the supper, at what time he, sitting with his disciples, and making with them his Maundy, took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and said, "Eat ye this," reaching forth his arm, and showing the bread in his hand; and then noting his own natural body, and touching the same, and not the bread consecrated, "This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you; do this in remembrance of me." And he likewise took the wine and bade them drink, saying, "This is my blood which is of the New Testament," &c.¹

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Item, That Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there shall be unto the day of doom. Wherefore they believed that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ.

Item, said one of them, "Men speak much of the sacrament of the altar: but this will I abide by, that upon Share Thursday,² Christ brake bread unto his disciples, and bade them eat it; saying, it was his flesh and blood. And then he went from them, and suffered passion; and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remain unto the day of doom, when he shall judge both quick and dead;" and therefore how he should be here in the form of bread, he said, he could not see.

Such reasons and allegations as these and other such like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the Shepherd's Kalendar, Wickliff's Wicket, and other books they had amongst them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet they, conferring and communing together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them marvellously: so that in short space the number of these 'known' or 'just-fast-men,' as they were then termed, did exceedingly increase; in such sort that the bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and required his aid for suppression of these men. Whereupon king Henry, being then young, and inexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these apostolical prelates, incensed with his suggestions and cruel complaints, directed down letters to his sheriffs, bailiffs, officers, and subjects, for the aid of the bishop in this behalf; the tenor of which letters here ensueth:

The
bishop
complain-
eth to the
king.

The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, against the Servants of Christ, falsely then called Heretics.

Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor the bishop of Lincoln hath now within his diocese no small number of heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: we therefore, being in will and mind safely to provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that neither they, nor any of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics or their fautors, in the executing and ministering of justice unto the said heretics, according to the laws of holy church: do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping, and assisting the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers,

(1) Ex Regist. Joh. Longland. Lincoln, fol. 105.

(2) "Share Thursday," Maundy Thursday.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.

in the executing of justice in the premises, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the premises, as ye intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost perils.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth year of our reign. 1521.

The cruel
falsehood
of bishop
Long-
land.

The bishop, thus being armed no less with the authority of the king's letter, than incited with his own fierceness, foreslacked no time, but eftsoons, to accomplish his moody violence upon the poor flock of Christ, called before him, sitting upon his tribunal-seat, both these afore-named persons, and all other in his dioecese, who were ever so little noted or suspected to incline towards those opinions; of whom to such as had but newly been taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoined most strait and rigorous penance. The others in whom he could find any relapse, yea, albeit they submitted themselves ever so humbly to his favourable courtesy; and though also, at his request, and for hope of pardon, they had showed themselves great detectors of their brethren, being moreover of him fee'd and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his fair words, and their expectation, he spared not, but read sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arm to be burnt.

And first, as touching those, who being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a catalogue: first reciting the persons; afterwards the rigorous penance to them enjoined.

The Names of those who were abjured in the dioecese of Lincoln,
A. D. 1521.

William Colins.	Richard Bartlet.	Robert Bruges.
John Colins.	William Phip.	John Stampe.
Joan Colins.	John Phip.	Joan Stampe.
Robert Colins.	Thomas Couper.	Richard White.
John Hacker.	William Littlepage.	Benet Ward.
John Brabant the father.	John Littlepage.	John Baker.
John Brabant his son.	Joan Littlepage.	Agnes Wellis.
John Brabant the younger son.	John Say.	Marian Morden.
John Edmonds.	John Frier.	Isabel Morwin.
Edward Pope.	Richard Vulford.	John Butler.
Henry Phip.	Thomas Tredway.	John Butler the younger.
John Steventon.	William Gudgame.	Richard Carder.
Joan Steventon.	Roger Heron.	Richard Bernard.
Robert Bartlet.	Francis Funge.	Joan Bernard.
Thomas Clerke.	Robert Pope.	John Grace.
John Clerke.	Roger Dods.	John French.
	John Harris.	John Edings.

The Towns, Villages, and Countries where these aforesaid Persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

Amersham.	Asthall.	Claufield.
Chesham.	Beaconsfield.	Walton.
Hichenden.	Denham.	Marlow.
Missenden the Great.	Ginge.	Dorney.
Missenden the Less.	Betterton.	Iver.
East-hundred.	Charney.	Burton.
West-hundred.	Stanlake.	Uxbridge.

Woburn.	Hungerford.	Shoreditch by London.	<i>Henry VIII.</i>
Henley.	Upton.	St. Giles in London.	
Wycombe.	Windsor.	Essex.	<hr/> A. D. 1518 to 1521. <hr/>
West-Wycombe.	London.	Suffolk.	
Newbury.	Coleman-street in London.	Norfolk.	
Burford.	Cheapside in London.	Norwich.	
Witney.			

The books and opinions which these were charged withal, and for which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow, in a brief summary to be seen.

A brief Summary of their Opinions.

The opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would; and that it was not as men did take it.¹

For that he was known of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning, that he was a known-man.²

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew as much as he did know.³

Some for saying, that they of Amersham, who had been abjured before by bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.⁴

Some, for hiding others in their barns.⁵

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or treatises of scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with, them that had been abjured.

Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.⁶

Some, for saying that worshipping of images was mawmetry; some for calling images carpenters' chips; some for calling them stocks and stones; some for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots.⁷

Some, for calling the image in the rood-loft, 'Block-almighty.'

Others for saying, that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.⁸

Some, for calling them fools who came from Master John Shorne in pilgrimage.⁹

Another, for calling his vicar a poll-shorn priest.¹⁰

Another, for calling a certain blind chapel, being in ruin, an old fairmilk-house.¹¹

Another, for saying that he threshed God Almighty out of the straw.¹²

Another for saying, that alms should not be given before they did sweat in a man's hand.¹³

Some, for saying, that those who die, pass straight either to heaven or hell.¹⁴

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband, when the bishop's man came for him; and saying, that he was an undone man, and she a dead woman.¹⁵

For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinner's hands, and would come there no more.¹⁶

Robert Rave, hearing a certain bell in an uplandish steeple, said, 'Lo, yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town;' and therefore, as for other such-like matters more, he was brought 'coram nobis!'

Item, For receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly father.

Some for saying, that the pope had no authority to give pardon, or to release man's soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The penance to these parties enjoined by this John Longland, Order of penance. bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, and all after one condition;

(1) Ex Regist. fol. 32.

(2) Fol. 32.

(3) Fol. 33.

(4) Fol. 34.

(5) Fol. 34.

(6) Fol. 36. (7) Fol. 33.

(8) Fol. 37.

(9) Fol. 40.

(10) Fol. 40.

(11) Fol. 40.

(12) Fol. 4. (13) Fol. 34.

(14) Fol. 35.

(15) Fol. 9.

(16) Fol. 45.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.

save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop. As for example, I have here adjoined the bishop's letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetual penance; by which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, who were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry abbeys, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Thame, to Bicester, to Dorchester, to Netley, to Ashridge, and divers more. The copy of the bishop's letter, sent to the abbot of Ensham, here followeth under written.

Copy of the Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of Ensham.

My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance within your monastery of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the law command you, to receive him, and see ye order him there according to his injunctions, which he will show you, if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him; and for his meat and drink, he may have such as you give of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place, &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted on these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all; the manner and form whereof in the said bishop's register doth proceed in condition as followeth:

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the 19th day of December, A. D. 1521.¹

In primis, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece² of the cross there, a quarter of an hour, with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the choir-door going out, to the choir-door going in; and all the high mass time to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece afore the high altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a faggot at a general procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto; and once to bear a faggot at the burning of a heretic, when they shall be admonished thereto.

Also every one of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life; and every Even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

Also, to be said by them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our lady-psalter; and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also neither they, nor any of them, shall hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise; nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt again, together with any suspected person or persons, unless it be in the open market, fair, church, or common inn or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

(1) Ex Registro, fol. 90.

(2) "Greece," a step.—ED.

And all these injunctions they and every of them to fulfil with their penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse.

Henry
VIII.

And thus have you the names, with the causes and the penance of those who were at this present time abjured. By this word 'abjured' is meant, that they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome: And further, that they should detect unto their ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same.

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

'Abjured,
what it
signi-
feth.

THE NAMES OF THEM THAT WERE CONDEMNED FOR RELAPSE,
AND COMMITTED UNTO THE SECULAR POWER.

Among these aforementioned persons who thus submitted themselves, and were put to penance, certain there were, who, because they had been abjured before,¹ as is above-mentioned, under bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular arm to be burned: whose names here follow: Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, and John Scrivener, martyrs.

A.D. 1521.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their abjuration, and also their martyrdom; unto whom we may adjoin, Joan Norman, and Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren, as in the table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a fee'd man of the bishop for the same: yet, notwithstanding, in the said bishop's register appeareth the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most likely he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to set fire unto their father; in like manner as Joan Clerke also, daughter of William Tylsworth, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural father, as is above specified.²

Children
compelled
to set fire
to their
own fa-
ther.

The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, so it hath not been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this John Scrivener, one Thomas Dorman,³ mentioned before, was present, and bare a faggot, at Amersham; whose abjuration was afterwards laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain lands from the school of Berkhamstead. This Thomas Dorman⁴ (as I am credibly informed of certain about Amersham) was then uncle

(1) See *suprà*, page 219.—ED.

(2) *Ibid.* page 123.—ED.

(3) "Thomas Dorman." See *suprà*, p. 123, where he is called "Yomand Dorman:" he was probably Thomas Dorman, yeoman.—ED.

(4) This Master Dorman, because he was put to school by his uncle at Berkhamstead to Master Reeve, being a protestant, therefore he, for the same cause, in the first sentence of his preface saith, that he was brought up in Calvin's school.

*Henry
VIII.*

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

to this our Dorman, and found him to school at Berkhamstead, under Master Reeve; who now so uncharitably abuseth his pen in writing against the contrary doctrine, and railleth so fiercely against the blood of Christ's slain servants, miscalling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoever the savour of these good martyrs do scent in the nose of Master Dorman, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: "*Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*;" "*Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.*" And therefore, howsoever it shall please Master Dorman with reproachful language to misterm the good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his martyrs; his unseemly usage (more cart-like than clerk-like) is not greatly to be weighed. For, as the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them that are gone, so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own kindred, friends, and country, as any others else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better grace, by time to repent.

*See
Addenda.*

Doctor John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.

*Paul's
epistles
first read
openly in
Oxford.*

*Commenda-
tion of
Dr. Colet.*

*His judg-
ment of
Thomas
Aquinas.*

Much about this time, or not past two years before, died Dr. John Colet, of whom mention was made in the table above¹; to whose sermons these 'known-men,' about Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Aquinas. From thence he was called by the king, and made dean of Paul's; where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great auditory, as well of the king's court, as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright; in discipline he was severe, insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never used to sup. Although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fantasied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas: insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, did commend him, that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, as '*Catena Aurea*,' and such like, to prove and to know his judgment; Colet, first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, "What tell you me," quoth he, "of the commendation of that man, who, except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole

doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?" *Henry VIII.*

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no less than fourscore; who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet), with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, entered action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles: the first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he, treating upon the place of the gospel, "Pasce, pasce, pasce," "Feed, feed, feed:" when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their papers with them; which, because the bishop of London used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble. A. D. 1518 to 1521.
He is accused.

The bishop of London, an enemy to him.

The archbishop, a favourer of Dr. Colet.

William Tyndale, in his book answering Master More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, a heretic, for translating the 'Pater Noster' into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holpen the dean.

But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not; who, being thus repulsed by the archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France; whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it never so just;¹ accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king. *See Addenda.*

Furthermore it so befell at the same time, that upon Good Friday Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, treated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they that upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy (one Christian to slay another), did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that christian men, in their wars, would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the examples of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king, hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet must needs be committed to the Tower; and waited for Dr. Colet called before the king.

(1) 'Iniqua pax justissimo bello præferenda.'

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Com-
mendeth
of him.
See
Addenda.

The
founda-
tion of
St. Paul's
School.

The
judgment
of Gro-
cine upon
Hierar-
chia Ec-
clesias-
tica.

See
Appendix.

Thomas
Linaere,
and
Richard
Pace.

Geoffrey
Chaucer,
and John
Gower.

his coming out. But the king, with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the garden, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did. And so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying: "Let every man have his doctor as him liketh, this shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. Hereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected the worthy foundation of the school of Paul's (I pray God the fruits of the school may answer the foundation), for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend as well for the master, as for the usher; whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation.¹ This Colet died the year of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived William Grocine and William Latimer, both Englishmen also, and famously learned. This Grocine, as he began to read in his open lecture, in the church of St. Paul, the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchie Ecclesiastica (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in Paul's was not in use), in the first entry of his preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whosoever they were, who either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that book: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and divers others of the like approved judgment and learning. But afterwards the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the aforementioned book, in his judgment, was never written by that author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dionysius Areopagita.²

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed doth occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were Thomas Linaere, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet and William Lily. But of Richard Pace, who was dean next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of cardinal Wolsey.

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower; who, although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy to be matched with these aforementioned persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gower's work, entitled 'Confessio Amantis,' that he finished it in the sixteenth year of king Richard II. And in the end of the eighth book of his said treatise, he declareth

(1) *Ex Epist. Erasmi ad Jodoc Jonam.*

(2) *Ex Erasmi ad Parisienses.*

that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certain verses of the said Master Gower, placed in the latter end of Chaucer's works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of king Henry IV., and also by a book which he wrote to the same king Henry. By his sepulture within the chapel of the church of St. Mary Overy's, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his garland of laurel, that he was both a knight, and flourishing then in poetry; in which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone three books: the first bearing the title, 'Speculum meditantis;' the second, 'Vox clamantis;' the third, 'Confessio amantis.' Besides these, divers chronicles and other works more he compiled.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521

Books
of John
Gower.

Likewise, as touching the time of Chaucer, by his own words in the end of his first book of Troilus and Cressida, it is manifest that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deal his ancient; both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many others in study and exercise of good letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucer's works be all printed in one volume, and therefore known to all men.

Chaucer
and
Gower
com-
mended
for their
studious
exercise.

This I marvel to see the idle life of the priests and clergymen of that time, seeing these lay-persons showed themselves in these kinds of liberal studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied. But much more I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who, no doubt, saw into religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any. And that, all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly); and especially the latter end of his third book of the Testament of Love, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full: although in the same book (as in all others he useth to do), under shadows covertly, as under a visor, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary. And therefore the bishops, belike, taking his works but for jests and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read.

Chaucer
a right
Wick-
levian

His
books.

So it pleased God then to blind the eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of these treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church; as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed of certain who knew the parties, who to them reported, that by reading of Chaucer's works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true: for, to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than others, what tale can be more plainly told than

Men
brought
to truth
by read-
ing Chau-
cer's
works.

*Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.*

*The
Plough-
man's
Tale, in
Chaucer.*

the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelates to be Antichrist, than doth the poor pelican reasoning against the greedy griffon? Under which hypotyposis, or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the pelican, the doctrine of Christ and of the Lollards to be defended against the church of Rome? or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the pelican there affirmeth, in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretensed church? Again, what egg can be more like, or fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening griffon resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities of that which we call the church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucer's works; which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read who is disposed. This Geoffrey Chaucer, being born, as is thought, in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of St. Peter at Westminster, in an aisle on the south side of the said church, not far from the door leading to the cloister; and upon his grave-stone first were written these two old verses:

*"Galfridus Chaucer Vates et fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo."*

Afterwards, about A. D. 1556, one Master Brickham, bestowing more cost upon his tomb, did add thereunto these verses following:

*"Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400."*

HERE BEGINNETH THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, IN THE TIME OF MARTIN LUTHER.

*The cor-
ruption
of the
church
described.*

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days; yet partly by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to those who have judgment to mark, or eyes to see, in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned, during the space of these four hundred years heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayest understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; so many churches, so many relics forged and feigned we had: again, so many relics, so many lying miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones: in place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal bread: instead of his blood, we worshipped the blood of ducks. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. Instead of God's Word, man's word was set up: instead of Christ's Testament, the pope's testament, that is, the canon

law : instead of Paul, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known ; and as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended : through the ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel : for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand and prosper ? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this : The promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life to all that believe in him :¹ giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us : and that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake ; and not conditionally for our merit's sake.²

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1518
to
1521.Founda-
tion of
christian
religion.

Furthermore, freely (saith the Scripture) by grace,³ that the promise might be firm and sure ; and not by the works that we do, which are always doubtful. By grace (saith the Scripture), through promise to all and upon all that believe ;⁴ and not by the law, upon them that do deserve. For if it come by deserving, then it is not of grace : if it be not of grace, then it is not of promise,⁵ and contrariwise, if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of works, saith St. Paul. Upon this foundation of God's free promise and grace first builded the patriarchs, kings, and prophets : upon this same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church : upon which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolical or catholical.

This apostolical and catholic foundation so long as the church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound : which endured a long season after the apostles' time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, as soon as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, who would build upon a new foundation a new church more glorious, which we call now the church of Rome ; who, not being contented with the old foundation, and the Head-corner-stone, which the Lord by his word had laid, in place thereof laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of God's holy law and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned, and followed of all men ; yet it is not that foundation whereupon our salvation consisteth : neither is that foundation able to bear up the weight of the kingdom of heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the foundation ; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying ; "No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus," &c.

But this ancient foundation, with the old ancient church of Christ, as I said, hath been now of long time forsaken ; and instead thereof, a new church with a new foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered ; as masses-trecenaries,

Doctrine
of the
church
corrupt-
ed.

(1) Rom. iii. 22.

(2) Rom. iv. 5.

(3) Rom. iv. 6

(4) Rom. iii. 22.

(5) Rom. xi. 6.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.

dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, bare-foot-going, fish-tasting, Lent-fast, ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocacy of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sects of religion, vows of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgencies, penance, satisfaction, auricular confession, founding of abbeys, building of chapels, giving to churches: and who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground; and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Life and
manners
of the
church
corrupted.

Moreover note, that as this new-found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled titles. So, under the pretence of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the cloke of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty; under the title of being dead to the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the colour of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed. And finally, when they had brought the whole world under their subjections, yet neither did their pride cease to ascend, nor could their avarice be ever satisfied.¹ And if the example of cardinal Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee, gentle reader! turn over the afore-said book of 'the Ploughman's Tale' in Chaucer, above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour than I have here described.

The re-
formation
of the
church
necessary.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader! I doubt not, how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful and no less needful providence of Almighty God; who, although he suffered his church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously before decayed. Hereof I have now consequently to entreat; intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

Printing
the foun-
tain of
reforma-
tion.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing, being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and

(1) 'Habentes speciem pietatis, sed vim ejus abnegantes.' 2 Tim. III.

knowledge; which were good books and authors, which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and judgment: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of printing.¹

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.
See Appendix.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, followed others besides, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here unnamed, were Picus and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Doctor de Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocinus, Doctor Colet, Rhenanus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's pretended church; who, after that by their learned writings and laborious travail, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after: immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

The first beginning of reformation.

²And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint, *through his great mercy,* to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform * and re-edify again the desolate ruins of his * religion; to subvert the see of the pope; * to abolish the abuses and pride of Antichrist, which so long had abused and deceived the simple flock of Christ's church; * first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to infer such prophecies and forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, who foretold and prophesied of this reformation of the church to come.

PROPHECIES, GOING BEFORE MARTIN LUTHER, TOUCHING THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

And first to begin with the prophecy of John Huss and Jerome, it is both notable, and also before-mentioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies, saying: That after 'a hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him.' Here is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415 (in which year John Huss was burned), or from the year 1416, (when Jerome did suffer), unto the year 1516 (when Martin Luther began first to write), we shall find the number of a hundred years expired.

Prophecy of John Huss.

Likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss, lying in the dungeon of the

Another prophecy.

(1) See Vol. iiii. p. 718.—Ed.

(2) Collated with the edition of 1563, p. 400.—Ed

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Friars in Constance, a little before he was burned. His dream, as he himself reporteth in his epistles writing to Lord John de Clum, and as I have also before recorded the same,¹ so do I now repeat the same again, in like effect of words hercunder written, as he wrote it himself in Latin,² the effect of which Latin is this :

‘I pray you expound to me the dream which I had this night. I saw that in my church at Bethlehem (whereof I was parson) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I, the next day following, rose up, and saw many other painters, who painted both the same, and many more images, and more fair, which I was glad to behold. Whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of people, said : Now let the bishops and priests come, and put out these images if they can. At which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them. And rising up, I felt myself to laugh.’

This dream Lord John of Clum first expounded. Then he, in the next epistle after, expounded it himself to this effect :³

‘The commandment of God standing, that we must observe no dreams, yet, notwithstanding, I trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his word, in the hearts of men ; which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to destroy, first, in commanding that no preaching should be, neither in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chapels thereby : secondly, that the church of Bethlehem should be thrown down to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be painted up again by more preachers much better than I, and after a much better sort, so that a great number of people shall rejoice thereat ; all such as love the life of Christ : and also I shall rejoice myself, at what time I shall awake, that is, when I shall rise again from the dead.’

Another
prophecy
of John
Huss.

Also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like propheticall meaning, where he saith ; that he trusted that those things, which he spake then within the house, should afterwards be preached above on the house top, &c.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Huss, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise, “De Sacerdotum et Monachorum carnalium abominatione,” thus prophesying of the reformation of the church.

Another.

‘The church cannot be reduced to its former dignity, and reformed, before all things first be made new (the truth whereof appeareth by the temple of Solomon) ; as well the clergy and priests, as also the people and laity. Or else, except all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and renewed, as well the people as the clerks and priests, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God : Of which people, new clerks and priests shall come forth and be taken, who all shall hate covetousness and glory of this life, labouring to a heavenly continuance. Notwithstanding, all these things shall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth, and will do of his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his patience and sufferance, giving time and space of repentance

(1) See vol. iii. p. 508.—Ed.

(2) “Somnium hujus noctis exponatis. Videbam quod in Bethlehem volebant delere omnes imagines Christi, et delebant. Ego surrexi sequenti die, et vici multos pictores, qui pulchiores imagines et pinxerant, quas læte aspexi : et pictores cum multo populo dicebant, Veniant episcopi et sacerdotes et delectant nobis ! Quo facto multi populi gaudebant in Bethlehem, et ego cum eis, et excitatus sensi me ridere.” From the first edition, page 100, quoted from the 44th epistle of John Huss.—Ed.

(3) ‘Stante mandato Dei,’ &c.

to them that have long lain in their sins, to amend and flee from the face of the Lord's fury, until at length all shall suffer together, and until both the carnal people, and priests, and clerks, in process and order of time, shall fall away and be consumed, as is the cloth consumed and eaten by the moth,' &c.¹

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1518

to

1521.

Prophecy
of Je-
rome.

With this prophecy of John Huss above-mentioned, speaking of the hundred years, accordeth also the testimony of Jerome, his fellow-martyr, in these words: "And I cite you all to answer before the most high and just Judge, after a hundred years."

This Jerome was burnt A. D. 1416;² and Luther began to write, A. D. 1516, which was just a hundred years, according to the right account of Jerome's prophecy.

Philip Melancthon, in his Apology,³ testifieth of one John Hilton, a monk in Thuringia, who, for speaking against certain abuses of the place and order where he lived, was cast into prison. At length, being weak and feeble through imprisonment, he sent for the warden of the convent, desiring and beseeching him to have some respect of his woful state and pitiful case. The warden rebuking and accusing him for what he had done and spoken; he answered again and said, That he had spoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their monkery, or against their religion: but there should come one (and assigned the year 1516), who should utterly subvert all monkery, and they should never be able to resist him, &c.⁴

Another
prophecy
by John
Hilton,
monk of
Thurin-
gia.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of Briget⁵ (whereunto I do not much attribute), who, prophesying of the destruction of Rome, saith:

'Rome shall be scourged and purged with three things—with sword, fire, and the plough. Resembling, moreover, the said church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new: also to a body condemned by a judge to have the skin flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh; the flesh to be cut out in pieces; and the bones thereof to be broken; and all the marrow to be squeezed out from the same; so that no part thereof remain whole and perfect,' &c.

Briget
prophe-
sieth of
reforma-
tion.

But to these speculations of Briget I give no great respect, as neither do I to the predictions of Katharine of Sienna.

And yet notwithstanding, Antoninus,⁶ writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) to friar Reymund her ghostly father:

'By these tribulations (saith she) God after a secret manner unknown to man, shall purge his holy church; and after those things, shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of the holy pastors, that only the cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which is now all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches⁷ and brooches; and all the faithful shall be glad and rejoice to see themselves so beautified with so holy pastors. Yea, and also the infidels, then allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true bishop and shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give a great calm,' &c.

Katha-
rina Se-
nensis
prophe-
sy of
reforma-
tion.

(1) John Huss de Sacerd. et monachorum carnalium abominatione, cap. 37; vol. i. p. 526, *Histeria et Monumenta Jo. Huss et Hieron. Pragensis; Norimb. 1715.—Ed.*

(2) See vol. iii. p. 525.—Ed.

(3) Cap. de Votis Monast.

(4) Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia, cap. [xiii.] de Monast.

(5) Antoninus, part 3. Hist. titul. 23. cap. 14.

(6) Ex Revel. Briget. l. 4. cap. 17.

(7) "Ouch," a collar of gold formerly worn by women.—Ed.

*Henry
VIII.*

*A.D.
1518
to
1521.*

Of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or adjudge, but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of this their own saint and prophet. For if they do not credit her spirit of prophecy, why then do they authorize her for a pure saint among the sisters of dear St. Dominic? If they warrant her prophecy, let them say then, When was this glorious reformation of the church ever true or like to be true, if it be not true now, in this marvellous alteration of the church in these our latter days? or when was there any such conversion of christian people in all countries ever heard of, since the apostles' time, as hath been since the preaching of Martin Luther?

*Prophecy
of Hiero-
nimus
Savona-
rola.
See
Appendix.*

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, showing that he prophesied, that one like to Cyrus should pass over the Alps, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: which may well be applied to God's word, and the gospel of Christ, spreading now abroad since Luther's time.

Theodoric, bishop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huss and Jerome were martyred; who, in the end of his prophetic verses, which are extant in print, declareth,

*Prophecy
of Theo-
doric.*

'That the see of Rome, which is so horribly polluted with simony and avarice, shall fall, and no more oppress men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it shall be subverted by its own subjects; and that the church and true piety shall flourish more again, than ever it did before.'

*Prophecy
of Dr.
Weselus.*

Noviomagus testifieth, that he, A.D. 1520, heard Ostendorpius, a canon of Darenter, say, that when he was a young man, doctor Weselus, a Friesian, who was then an old man, told him, that he should live to see this new school divinity of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to be utterly forsaken and exploded of all true Christians.

*Prophecy
of the
pope's
head.*

In a book of Charles Boville, mention is made of a certain vision which one Nicholas, a hermit of Helvetia, had; in which vision he saw the pope's head crowned with three swords proceeding from his face, and three swords coming toward it. This vision is also printed in the books of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

Nicholas Medler, being of late superintendent of Brunswick, affirmed and testified,

That he heard and knew a certain priest in his country, that told the priests there, that they laid aside Paul under their desks and pews; but the time would come, when Paul should come abroad, and drive them under the desks and dark stalls, where they should not appear,' &c.

Matthias Flacius, in the end of his book entitled, 'De Testibus Veritatis,' speaketh of one Michael Stifelius:

This Michael, being an old man, told him, that he heard the priests and monks say many times, by the old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needs come amongst them: and also that the said Michael heard Conrad Stifelius his father many times declare the same: who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of monks and priests, told to one Peter Pírer, a friend and neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those priests that he should kill for himself, he would kill one priest more for his sake.¹

(1) This anecdote occurs in the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, drawn up by M. Flacius Illyricus, and re-edited by Simon Goulart, A.D. 1608; at p. 1941.—Ed.

This Stifelius thought, belike, that this reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of sword; but he was therein deceived; although the adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before, how one Haggard of London, speaking of this reformation to come, declared, that the priests should make battle, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever.

In the time of pope Alexander VI. and about A. D. 1500, as is before specified, the high angel which stood on the top of the pope's church and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tiber: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom.

The fall of the popedom signified by the fall of the angel from the pope's church top.

To this may be adjoined, that which in certain chronicles, and in John Bale,¹ is recorded; which saith, that in the year of our Lord 1516 (which was the same year when Martin Luther began), pope Leo X. did create one and thirty cardinals: in which year and day of their creation, there fell a tempest of thunder and lightning in Rome, which so struck the church where the cardinals were made, that it removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many then did interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the see of Rome.

Another signification of the pope's subversion.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven, A. D. 1505, in which year, under the reign of Maximilian the emperor,² there appeared in Germany, upon the vestures of men, as well of priests as laymen; upon women's garments also, and upon their rocks³ as they were spinning, divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses, &c.: all which were seen upon their caps and gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers, who both did see, and also did write upon the same. Of these the first was Maximilian the emperor, who both had and showed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, who wrote thereupon a book in Latin metre called 'Staurosticon;' wherein, for the more credit, these verses be contained:

Bloody marks of the Lord's passion, seen on men's garments.

"Non ignota cano, Cæsar monstravit, et ipsi
Vidimus: Innumeros prompsit Germania testes," &c.

Of this also writeth John Carion, Functius, Philip Melancthon, Flacius, with divers others. These marks and tokens, as they were very strange, so were they diversely expounded of many, some thinking that they portended affliction and persecution of the church to draw near: some, that God by that token did admonish them, or foreshowed unto them the true doctrine of their justification, which only is to be sought in the cross and passion of Christ, and in no other thing. This I marvel, that Christianus Masseus, and others of

Explication of this portent.

(1) Ex Baleo, cent. 8.

(3) "Rock;" a distaff — Ed.

(2) Ex Johan. Carione, Franc. Mirandula, et aliis.

(4) See *suprà*, pp. 234, 236, 237, 239. — Ed.

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1518

to

1521.

that profession, do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not to their liking. For, whether it signifieth persecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that suffer and bear the cross with Christ: or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God, of his determinate providence, was disposed to reform and to restore his church. And not only by these prophecies the same might well appear, but also, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of popish prelaacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the pope and the court of Rome, that it might soon appear, by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long to stand. For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that men did not see them, neither did any man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these proverbs to their derision, in every country, as in Germany it hath been a proverb amongst them.

Proverbs against the corrupt See of Rome:

**Was ist nu in der werlt fur ein weßen,
Wir moegen fur den pſaffen nicht geſeßen.**

What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaveling priests no man that once may rout?

Quam primum clericus suscipit rasuram, statim intrat in eum diabolus: i. e. As soon as a clerk is shorn into his order, by and by the devil entereth into him.

‘In nomine Domini, incipit omne malum:’ i. e. ‘In the name of God beginneth all evil:’ alluding to the pope’s bulls, which commonly so begin.

Item, When bulls come from Rome, bind well your purses.

The nearer Rome, the further from Christ.

Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man:

He that goeth twice, learneth to know him:

He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.

Item, The court of Rome never regardeth the sheep without the wool.

Once were wooden chalices, and golden priests:

Now we have golden chalices, and wooden priests.

Once christian men had blind churches, and light hearts:

Now they have blind hearts, and light churches.

Item, Many are worshipped for saints in heaven, whose souls be burning in hell.¹

What should I speak of our English proverb, which so vilely esteemeth the filthy friars, that it compareth them to something which, to save thy reverence, good reader, we mention not.

(1) Ex Arentino. [lib. v. proem.]

In France, an archbishop of Sens writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying, "*Romæ solvi Satanam in perniciem totius ecclesiæ:*" that is, "That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church."

Thomas Becket himself, in his time, writing to the college of cardinals, denieth it not but to be a common word both through town and city, "*Quod non sit justitia Romæ:*" that is, "That there is no right at Rome."

To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the margin of a certain old register to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose story we have comprehended before.¹

The A, B, C, against the pride of the Clergy.

A wake, ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
B oth priest, pope, bishop, and cardinal!
C onsider wisely, what ways ye take,
D angerously being like to have a fall.
E very where the mischief of you all,
F ar and near, breaketh out very fast;
G od will needs be revenged at the last.

H ow long have ye the world captived,
I n sore bondage of men's traditions?
K ings and emperors ye have deprived,
L ewdly usurping their chief possessions:
M uch misery ye make in all regions.
N ow your frauds be almost at their latter cast,
O f God sore to be revenged at the last.

P oor people to oppress ye have no shame,
Q uaking for fear of your double tyranny.
R ightful justice ye have put out of frame,
S eeking the lust of your god, the belly.
T herefore I dare you boldly certify,
V ery little though you be thereof aghast,
Y et God will be revenged at the last.

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what hearts and judgments the people had in those days of the Romish clergy; which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret prophecy, that shortly religion should be restored; according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write; after Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and last of all Erasmus of Rotterdam, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the monks' houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justifying by faith only, in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travails, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of John Sleidan, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon; but only to run over some brief touching of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

The article of our free justification beateth down all errors.

(1) See vol. iii. page 249.—E.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.*The History of Doctor Martin Luther,*

WITH HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE DESCRIBED.

*See
Appendix.*Excellent
declara-
tion of
Bernard
touching
faith.Profit of
St. Au-
gustine's
books.Institu-
tion of the
univer-
sity at
Witten-
berg.

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was set to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this university of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Weselus above mentioned) with whom Luther being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; which article the said aged Father opened unto Luther after this sort; declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard, and showed him the place, in the sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: "But add thou that thou believest this, that by him *thy* sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is freely justified by faith."

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the discourse of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before, of the schoolmen. And so, by little and little, reading and conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, with continual invocation of God, and exaltation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable sentences (among others, in the exposition of the Psalms, and especially in the book of the Spirit and Letter), which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Ockham, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also and revolved Gerson: but above all the rest, he perused all over St. Augustine's works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of four years in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, who had ministered his help to further the erection of a university in Wittenberg, being anxious to promote the study of divinity in this new university; when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, he called him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A.D. 1508 and of his age the twenty-sixth. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise both of his disputations in the schools and preaching in churches; where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther, namely Dr. Mellarstad.

This Mellarstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.

There first he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks; and returning the same year, he was graded doctor at the expense of the elector Frederic, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of the schools: for he had heard him preach; well understood the quickness of his spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitius, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many predictions or presages (which afterward prove true) are wont to go before great changes.

Luther sent to Rome and commenced doctor.

See Appendix.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and consequently the Psalms: where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; and also confounded the error that reigned then in the schools and sermons, viz. that men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward discipline; as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God: as John Baptist demonstrated the Lamb of God that took away the sins of the world; even so Luther, shining in the church as the bright daylight after a long and dark night, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift: *¹ He also illustrated divers other points of ecclesiastical doctrine.*

Luther begins to read the Epistle to the Romans.

Luther taught Jesus Christ.

* These² happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, considering his life was correspondent to his profession; and it plainly appeared that his words were no lip-labour, but proceeded from the very heart. This admiration of his holy life much allured the hearts of his auditors: and therefore, when at a later period he wished to innovate certain received ceremonies, respectable men who had known him made little or no objection, but, in respect of the authority he had gained before (as well for that he had revealed many good matters, as that his life was holy), consented with him in his opinions, and agreed with him on those subjects, by which, to their sorrow, they saw the world divided.*

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principal of all other, to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort to be sought in the cross of Christ. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness; whereby they

Henry VIII.

A. D.

1518

to

1521.

Erasmus openeth the way before Luther.

See Appendix.

Ten shilling pardons.

Tetzel, preacher of the pope's pardons.

The first occasion why Luther wrote against pardons.

Slander of Tetzel the friar.

began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of the gospel; betwixt spiritual justice, and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and such-like school-clerks.

It happened, moreover, about this time, that many were provoked by Erasmus's learned works to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who, having thus opened to them a more pleasant sort of learning than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical learning; and especially such as were of liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongues to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and idiom of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine of the very fountains, he might form a more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was A.D. 1516, Leo X., who had succeeded after Julius II., was pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all christian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, "*Quicquid solveritis super terram, erit solutum in cœlis,*" &c., i. e. "Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven; but if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing." This filthy kind of the pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first tome of his works, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A. D. 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks and sophistical divines of his covent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furious fury of this friar enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain the truth.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy; wherein Luther, neither suspecting ne dreaming of any change to be effected in

(1) Ex Christia. Massreo, lib. xx. [Chronicon historiarum utriusque Testamenti: Antverpiæ, 1540. This volume is placed by the church of Rome in the second class of works needing expurgation. See Index lib. prohib. et expurgandorum, folio Maduti. 16:2, p. 132.—Ep.]

the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, who blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the court (as the duke of Brunswick wrote), inasmuch as the duke Frederic was sore offended that such contention and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

And as this good duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity, neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counsels to the common utility of all the world (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways), so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often discovered outwardly the heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the emperor, Charles king of Spain, and pope Julius, had given commandment to the said duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned; in the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him, freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying, that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the pope's crown: which two matters in no case are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, thus he said, that Luther did dwell in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling.¹ Whereupon duke Frederic shortly after wrote to Luther seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor, where also Huttenus, Aloisius,

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

*See
Appendix.*

Judgment of
Erasmus
touching
Luther.

(1) *Ex Chr. Casp. Peucer lib. v.*

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Marlianus, Ludovicus Vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together, waiting upon the emperor.¹

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, in the following year, wrote up to the archbishop of Mentz a certain epistle touching the cause of Luther; in which epistle thus he signifieth to the bishop:

See
Appendix.

‘That many things are in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly. Also, that the world is burdened with men’s institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars; which friars, when they are but the pope’s servants and underlings, yet they have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the pope himself, and to all princes; who, so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than God; but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or fantasy. Once (said he) it was counted an heresy when a man repugned against the gospels, or articles of the faith. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas, is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To know Greek is heresy; or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy.’²

And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

REVIEW OF LUTHER’S CONDUCT AND WRITINGS.

*³ It is also apparent, that Luther promised the cardinal Cajetan to keep silence, provided also that his adversaries would do the like. Whereby we may gather, that at that time he determined not to stir any new debates, but rather coveted the common quietness, and that he was provoked by little and little to other matters, through the provoking of unlearned writers.

Then followed disputations of the difference betwixt divine and human law; of the horrible profanation of the Supper of our Lord, in selling and applying the same for other purposes. Here he was forced to express the cause of the sacrifice, and to declare the use of the sacraments.

Now the godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding images ought to be eschewed, began to abandon that wretched thralldom, in which they were detained. Now Luther, the plainlier to express the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of indulgences, he added also to these matters, the difference of divine and human laws, the doctrine of the use of our Lord’s Supper, of baptism, and of vows; and these were his principal conflicts. As touching the question of the Roman bishop’s power, Eckius was the author thereof; and for none other respect, than to inflame the fiery wrath of the pope and princes against Luther. The symbol of the apostles, also of Nice and Athanasius, he conserved in their integrity.

Further, he declareth in divers his works sufficiently what innovation is to be required in the ceremonies and traditions of men; and wherefore they ought to be altered. And what form of doctrine and

Declaration of the
principal
points of
religion.

(1) Paraleipomena Abb. Ursperg. Argentorati, 1609, p. 347. [This Chronicle was published in folio, Argentorati, 1537: the continuation, called Paraleipomena, was probably drawn up by Caspar Hedio: see Meuselii Biblioth. Hist. vol. i. p. 78.—Ed.]

(2) Ibid. p. 318. [The passage is extracted ex Epist. Erasmi ad Albert. archiep. Moguntinensem, col. 514, Lug. Bat. 1706. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(3) For the following passages in asterisks, extending to page 268, see Edition 1563, p. 404.—Ed.

administration of the Sacraments he required and approved, it is apparent by the confession which the elector, John duke of Saxony, and prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, presented to the emperor Charles V., A. D. 1530, in the assembly at Augsburg. It is manifest also by the ceremonies of the church in this city, and the doctrine that is preached in our church, the sum whereof is fully comprised in this confession. I allege this, that the godly may consider not only what errors he hath corrected and reprov'd, but also they may understand that he comprehended also the whole doctrine necessary for the church; he hath set the ceremonies in their purity, and given examples to the faithful to reform the churches, and it is necessary for posterity to know what Luther hath approved.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.
The confession of
Augs-
burg.

I will not here rehearse, who were the first that published both parts of the Supper of our Lord, who first omitted private masses, and where first the monasteries were abandoned: for Luther disputed very little of these before the assembly which was made in the town of Worms, A. D. 1521: he changed not the ceremonies, but in his absence Carolostadt and other altered them. Then Luther returning (after that Carolostadt had devised and done certain things rather to breed muttering than otherwise), manifested by evident testimonies, published abroad touching his opinion, what he approved, and what he disliked.

We know that politic men evermore detested all changes: and we must confess, there ensueth some evil upon dissensions, and yet it is our duty evermore in the church, to advance God's ordinance above human constitutions. The eternal Father pronounced this voice of his Son: "This is my well beloved Son, hear him!" and manaseth eternal wrath to all blasphemers, that is, such as endeavour to abolish the manifest verity. And therefore Luther did, as behoved a Christian faithfully to do, considering he was an instructor of the church of God. It was his office, I say, to reprehend pernicious errors, which the rabble of epicures most impudently heaped one upon another, and it was expedient his auditors dissented not from his opinion, since he taught purely. Wherefore if alteration be hateful, and many perils grow of dissension, as we certainly see many, whereof we be right sorry, they are partly in fault that spread abroad these errors, and partly they that with devilish disdain presently maintain them. I do not recite this to defend Luther and his auditors, but also that the faithful may consider now, and in time to come, what is the governance of the true church of God, and what it hath always been: how God hath gathered to himself one eternal church, by the voice of the gospel, of this lump of sin, and filthy heap of human corruption; among whom the gospel shineth as a spark in the dark. As in the time of the Pharisees, Zachary, Elizabeth, Mary, and many other, revered and observed the true doctrine: so have many gone before us, who purely invocated God, some understanding more clearly than some the doctrine of the gospel. Such one was the old man of whom I wrote, that oftentimes comforted Luther, when his astonysings assailed him; and after a sort declared unto him the doctrine of the faith. And that God may preserve henceforth the light of his gospel, shining in many, let us pray with fervent affection, as Isaiah prayeth for his hearers: "Seal the law in my disciples." Further, this

Changes
are dan-
gerous.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.

1518

to

1521.

advertisement sheweth plain that coloured superstitions are not permanent, but abolished by God: and sith this is the cause of changes, we ought diligently to endeavour, that errors be not taught ne preached in the church.

But I return to Luther. Even as at the beginning he entreated in this matter without any particular affection, so, though he was of a fiery nature and subject to wrath, yet he always remembered his office, and prohibited wars to be attempted, and distinguished wisely offices wherein was any difference, as, the bishop to feed the flock of God; and the magistrates by authority of the sword committed unto them to repress the people subject unto them. Wherefore when Satan contendeth by slanders to dissipate the church of God, and contumeliously to rage against him, and delighteth to do evil, and rejoiceth to behold us wallow in the puddle of error and blindness, smiling at our destruction; he laboureth all he can to inflame and stir up mischievous instruments and seditious spirits to sow sedition; as Munzer and his like. Luther repelled boldly these rages, and not only adorned, but also ratified, the dignity and bands of politic order and civil government. Therefore when I consider in my mind how many worthy men have been in the church, that in this erred, and were abused: I believe assuredly that Luther's heart was not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light; considering how constantly he abode within the limits of his office.

Luther held not only in contempt the seditious doctors of that time, as Munzer and the Anabaptists; but especially these horned bishops of Rome, who arrogantly and impudently by their devised decrees affirmed, that St. Peter had not the charge alone to teach the gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. Moreover he exhorted every man to render unto God that appertained unto God, and to Cæsar that belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God with true repentance, knowledge, and maintaining of his true doctrine, invocation, and works wrought with a pure conscience: and as touching civil policy, that every one should obey the magistrates under whom he liveth, in all civil duties and reverences, for God's cause. And such one was Luther. He gave unto God, that belonged unto God; he taught God; he invoked God; and had other virtues necessary for a man that pleaseth God. Further, in politic conversation he constantly avoided all seditious counsels. I judge these virtues to be so excellent ornaments, as greater and more divine cannot be required in this mortal life. And albeit that the virtue of this man is worthy of commendation, and the rather for that he used the gifts of God in all reverence; yet our duty is to render condign thanks unto God, that by him he hath given us the light of the gospel, and to conserve and enlarge the remembrance of his doctrine. I weigh little the slander of the epicures and hypocrites, who scoff and condemn the manifest truth; but I stay wholly hereupon, that the universal church hath consented perpetually to this very doctrine, which is preached in our church, whereunto we must frame our life and devotion conformable. And I believe that this is the doctrine, whereof the Son of God speaketh: "If any love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and plant our dwelling

Assurance of the doctrine of the gospel.

with him." I speak of the sum of the doctrine, as it is understood and explained in our churches, by the faithful and learned ministers. For albeit that some one oftentimes expoundeth the same more aptly and elegantly than some other: yet, as touching the effect, the learned and faithful do agree in all points.

Then weighing and perpending with myself long time the doctrine that hath been of all times, it seemeth unto me that since the apostles there have been four notable alterations after the first purity of the gospel. Origen had his time. Albeit there were some of a sound and sacred opinion, as Methodius, who reproved certain suspected doctrines of Origen, yet he converted the gospel into philosophy in the hearts of many: that is to say, he advanced this persuasion, that the moral discipline of reason deserveth remission of sins, and that this is that justice, whereof is said, "The just shall live of his faith." That age almost lost the whole difference of the law and the gospel, and forgot the words of the apostles; for they understood not the natural signification of these words: Letter, Spirit, Justice, Faith. Now when the propriety of words was lost, which be notes of the very things, it was necessary that other things should be contrived.

Out of this seed sprang the Pelagius' error, which wandered largely abroad: and therefore, albeit the apostles had given unto the church a pure doctrine, as clear and wholesome fountains, yet Origen intermixed the same with some corruption in that part. Then, to correct the errors of that time, or at the least some part of them, God raised St. Austin, who purged in some part the fountains; and I doubt not, if he were judge of dissensions at this day, but he would speak for us, and defend our cause. Certainly, as concerning free remission, justification by faith, the use of the sacraments and indifferent things, he consenteth wholly with us. And, albeit that in some places he expoundeth more eloquently and aptly that he will say than in some, yet if in reading any do carry with them a godly spirit and quick understanding, and all evil judgment ceaseth, they shall soon perceive that he is of our opinion. And whereas our adversaries sometime do cite sentences selected out of his books against us, and with clamour provoke us to the ancient Fathers, they do it not for any affection they bear unto the truth or antiquity, but maliciously to cloak them with the authority of the ancient Fathers, which antiquity never knew of any of these horned beasts and dumb idols, as we have known in these days. Nevertheless it is certain, there were seeds of superstition in the time of the Fathers and ancient doctors; and therefore St. Austin ordained something of vows, although he wrote not thereof so strangely as other: for the best some-times shall be spotted with the blemish of such follies as reign in their age. For as naturally we love our country, so fondly we favour the present fashions, wherein we be trained and educated. And very well alluded Euripides to this effect:

‘What customs we in tender youth
By nature's lore receive;
The same we love and like always,
And lothe our lust to leave.’

But would to God, that such as vaunt they follow St. Austin, would

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Four
changes
since the
apostles.

*Sup.
Ap. in Gr.*

Henry VIII.

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

Depavity
of eccle-
siastical
ministers

The be-
ginning
of two
sorts of
friars.

The gos-
pel turned
into phi-
losophy.

always represent one like opinion and mind, as St. Austin: certainly they would not clip so his sentences, to serve their purpose. And the light restored by St. Austin's works hath much profited the posterity; for Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like, that governed studies to St. Bernard's time, have for the most part imitated the rule of St. Austin. And this while still, the regiment and riches of the bishops encreased: and thereof ensued a monstrous regiment; profane and ignorant men governed the church, among the which certain were instructed in sciences and practiees of the Roman court, and some other exercised in pleadings.

Then the orders of Dominicke and S. Francis's Friars began; who, beholding the excess and riches of the bishops, and contemning their ungodly manners, determined to live in more modest order, or, as I might say, to enclose them in the prisons of discipline. But first, ignorance increased the superstitions. Then after, when they considered men's minds wholly addicted to the study of the civil laws (for that pleading at Rome advanced many to great authority, and enriched them), they endeavoured to revoke men to the study of divinity, but they missed of their purpose, and their counsel failed them. Albert, and such like, that were given to Aristotle's doctrine, began to convert the doctrine of the church into profane philosophy.

And the fourth age not only corrupted the fountains of the gospel, but also gave out poison, that is to say, opinions manifestly approving all idolatries. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their like, have brought in so many labyrinths and false opinions, that the godly and sound sort of divines have always desired a more plain and purer kind of doctrine: neither can we deny without great impudency but it was expedient to alter this kind of doctrine, when it is manifest that such as employed their whole age in this manner of teaching, understood not a great part of their sophisms in their disputations. Further it is plain idolatry confirmed, when they teach the application of sacrifice by work wrought; when they allow the invocation of saints; when they deny that sins be freely remitted by faith; when of ceremonies they make a slaughter of consciences. Finally, there are many other horrible and pernicious devices, that when I think on them, Lord! how I tremble and quake for fear.*¹

Now to return, and to treat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After that Tetzcl, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow-monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought; which was A.D. 1517.²

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterwards did follow; but only hearing that he was accused

(1) See the Appendix.—Et

(2) In Paulip. Albat. Ursperg; [Arg. nt. 1609, p. 312.—Ed.]

to the bishop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him : in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, who so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his holiness. And so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himself :

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1518
to
1521.

‘ Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die : for the earth is the Lord’s, and all the fulness thereof, who is blessed for ever.¹ Amen.’

Submission of Luther to the pope.

This was A. D. 1518.

After Martin Luther, provoked by Tetzel, had declared his mind in writing lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed ; not long after, among other monks and friars, steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominic friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the apostle in 1 Thess. v., that we must “ prove all things.” Also the place in Gal. ii. that “ if an angel from heaven do bring any other gospel than that we have received, he ought to be accursed.” Item, he alleged the place of Austin unto Jerome, where the said Austin saith, ‘ That he was wont to give this honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believeth them verily not to have erred. But as touching all other men’s writings, were they ever so holy men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say ; but in that respect as they do agree with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err. Item, he alleged the place of the canon law ;² wherein he proved, that these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth of the pope’s indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, than is enjoined them within the letters of their commission. And in the latter part of his answer, thus Luther writeth to the reader, “ Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let us not make men’s opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul.” “ Moreover, I am ashamed,” quoth he, “ to hear the common saying of these divine school-doctors, who, holding one thing in the schools, and thinking otherwise in their own judgment, thus are wont secretly among themselves, and with their privy friends talking together, to say, ‘ Thus do we hold, and thus would we say, being in the schools : but yet (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be so proved by the holy Scriptures,’ ” &c.³

The raging dialogue of Silvester against Luther.

Luther’s answer.

See Appendix.

Next after this Silvester, stepped forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered Dr. Andreas Boderstein, archdeacon of Wittenberg, making his apology in defence of Luther.

Eckius writeth against Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the 7th of August, by one Hierome, bishop of Ascoli, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope’s legate, was then lieger at the city of

See Addenda.

(1) Psal. xxiv. 1.

(2) Clement. [lib. v. tit. ix.] de penit. et remiss. cap. ‘ Abusibus.’

(3) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursperg. [pp. 342, 343.]

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.The uni-
versity of
Witten-
berg
writeth to
the pope
for
Luther.

Augsburg, who before had been sent down in commission, with certain mandates from pope Leo, unto that city. The university of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed up their letters with their public seal, to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Miltitius, the pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the pope; from whom he received this answer again, the three and twentieth of the aforesaid month of August.

Substance of the Pope's Charge to his Legate, against Luther.

That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, bishop of Ascoli, auditor of the chamber; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did not only refuse to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing or rather increasing in his former heresy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody: and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted); interdicting, by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins.

Likewise the pope directeth other letters also at the same time to duke Frederic, with many grievous words, complaining against Luther.

The cardinal, thus being charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sendeth with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

Luther
obedient
to the see
of Rome.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal, before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the emperor Maximilian. This being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offering himself to the speech of the cardinal, and was there received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, or, as Sleidan saith, but two: to wit,

Appear-
eth before
cardinal
Cajetan.Three
things
put to
Luther.

I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.

II. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.

III. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

Henry VIII.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the extravagant of Clement, which beginneth, 'Unigenitus,' &c., because that he, contrary to that canon, had held and taught in his fifty-eighth proposition, that the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to him that receiveth the sacrament.

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, having there a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, and personally, in this manner following :

Protestation of Luther with his Answer and Propositions before the Cardinal.

Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a friar Augustine, protest, that I do reverence and follow the church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come ; and if any thing hath been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken, as though it had never been spoken.

But because the cardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me to be observed: First, That I should return again to the knowledge of myself: Secondly, That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter: Thirdly, That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God: I protest here this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholic: yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his objections, if he have any against me; and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the universities of the empire, Basil, Friburg, and Louvain.

Answer
of Lu-
ther, with
his pro-
positions.

Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an answer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: That the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: That the pope may err: That he ought to be reprehended. [Acts xv.] Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reason: That the extravagant containeth untruths: That it is an infallible verity, that none is just: That it is necessary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the sacrament, to believe: That faith in the absolution and remission of sins, is necessary: That he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: That he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions of his own head; and by distinctions (wherewith the divinity of the Thomists is full), like a very Proteus,¹ he avoided all things. After this, Luther, being

¹(1) Proteus was a monster noted in poets, which could change himself into all forms and likenesses.

*Henry
VIII.*

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for Johannes Staupitius, vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in writing :

Substance of Luther's answer to the Cardinal.

First, Luther thanked the cardinal for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Staupitius toward him ; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatsoever kind of office he could do him service : confessing moreover, that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope's dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of certain who gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to show more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the bishop ; and that in the pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was pressed to retract his sentence before defended, forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination thereof to be referred to the bishop of Rome ; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church speaking, &c.

Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the bishop of Rome would have been answered with any reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of Luther ? But the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do ; for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the immeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough (like to Æsop's dog coveting to have both the flesh and the shadow), not only he missed what he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

But to the purpose of our matter again : this writing Luther delivered to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight ; which letter or writing the cardinal did little regard. When Luther saw that he would give no answer nor countenance to the letter ; yet, notwithstanding, he remained, after that, the fourth day, and nothing was answered. The fifth day likewise was passed with like silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal had said before, that he had a commandment to imprison Luther and John Staupitius the vicar ; after that he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed ; thinking that he had showed such dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and sheweth the cause why he submitted himself to the church of Rome : declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppresseth and concealeth, which he supposeth the reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he revere-
n-
c-
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n-
c-
e-
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and followeth the church of Rome in all things, and that he

Pride
will have
a fall.
Æsop's
dog ; 'all
covet,
all lose.'

Luther
obedient
to Rome.

setteth himself only against those, who, under the name of the church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend Babylon unto us.

Henry VIII.

Thus have you heard how Luther, being rejected from the speech and sight of Cajetan the cardinal, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned unto Wittenberg; leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, wherein he declared sufficiently: first his obedience in his coming; the reasons of his doctrine; his submission reasonable to the see of Rome; his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's speech; the charges of the duke; and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he left an appellation to the bishop of Rome from the cardinal, which he caused openly to be affixed before his departure.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

Luther
appealeth
to the
pope.

After Luther was thus departed and returned again into his country, Cajetan writeth to duke Frederic a sharp and a biting letter, in which first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good will showed to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of Staupitius. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of Luther's doctrine against the church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and safety, and regardeth the favour of the high bishop, he will send him up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, forasmuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long so to be suffered.

The
letters of
Cajetan
to duke
Frederic.

To this letter of the cardinal the duke answereth again at large, purging both Luther and himself; Luther, in that he, following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved no error. And himself he excuseth thus: that whereas it is required of him to banish him his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and less conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should so do; which if the cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a christian prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a mean unto the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

The
duke's
answer
for
Luther.

This done, the duke sendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther, who answered again to the prince; showing first how he came obediently unto Cajetan with the emperor's warrant, and what talk there was between them: how Cajetan pressed him, against his conscience and manifest truth, to revoke these errors. First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the treasure of the pope's pardons: secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture, or at least, that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and judged of learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech; whereas he yet, notwithstanding, persisting in his obedience to the church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

Luther's
letters to
duke
Frederic.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.

At last when no answer would come, after he had waited the space of five or six days to his great detriment and greater danger, by the persuasion of his friends he departed: whereat if the cardinal were displeased, he had most cause to blame himself. "And now, whereas the cardinal threateneth me," saith he, "not to let the action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished your dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of mine adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my country, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me; thanking God, who hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name."

Luther
ready to
be exiled.His cause
indanger.The uni-
versity of
Witten-
berg
writeth to
the duke
for Lu-
ther.

Here, no doubt, was the cause of Luther in great danger, being now brought to this strait, that both Luther was ready to fly the country, and the duke again was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God, who had this matter in guiding, here provided a remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg; who, seeing the cause of truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their letters unto the prince, in defence of Luther and of his cause; making their humble suit unto him, that he, of his princely honour, would not suffer innocency, and the simplicity of truth so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error first may be showed and convicted, before the party be pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these letters, the duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of Luther, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons: whereby, through God's holy working, he grew to knowledge and strength; perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, A.D. 1518.

New in-
dulgence
set forth
by pope
Leo.

As this past on, pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the mean time, in the month of November (to establish his seat against this defection which he feared to come), had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother-church of Rome, prince of all other churches, that bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, also to grant indulgences, available both for the living and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory: and this doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church. This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise or ale-stake to get money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, came also to be received in Germany about the month of December. Luther, in the mean time, hearing how they went about in Rome to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general council.

*See
Appendix.*The pope's
ale stake,
to pick
men's
purses.Luther
appealeth
from the
pope, to a
council.

When pope Leo perceived, that neither his pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to essay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurements, he sent his chamberlain, Carolus Miltitius above-mentioned (who was a German), into Saxony, to duke Frederic, with a golden rose, after the usual ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him; with secret letters also to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther. But before Miltitius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceased in the month of January, A.D. 1519. At that time two there were who stood for the election; to wit, Francis the French king, and Charles king of Spain, who was also duke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through the means of Frederic prince-elect (who having the offer of the preferment, refused the same), the election fell to Charles, called Charles V., surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

Henry VIII.

A.D.
1518
to
1521.Death of
Maximilian.Charles V.
elected
emperor,
by means
of duke
Frederic.

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city in Misnia, under the dominion of George duke of Saxony, uncle to duke Frederic. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by duke George to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came also Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon, who, not past a year before, was newly come to Wittenberg; Luther not thinking then to dispute in any matter, because of his appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

Disputation at
Leipsic.See
Appendix.Eckius
against
Carolo-
stadt.Luther
cometh to
the dis-
putation.

First, before the entry into the disputation it was agreed, that the acts should be penned by notaries, and after divulged abroad. But Eckius afterwards went back from that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hinderance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemency abate. But Carolostadt without notaries would not dispute. The sum of their disputations was reduced to certain conclusions; amongst which, came first in question to dispute of free-will, which the Greeks call *αὐθαίρετον*: that is, "Whether a man have of himself any election or purpose to do that which is good:" or (to use the terms of the school) "Whether a man of congruence may deserve grace, doing that which in him doth lie?" Herein when the question was to be discussed, what the will of man may do of itself without grace, they, through heat of contention (as the manner is), fell into other by-matters and ambages¹ little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadt proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take interest and increase of man again, which first

The ques-
tion of
free-will.

(1) "Ambages," idle circumlocutions.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1518
to
1521.God
giveth his
grace to
usury.
'Totum
totaliter.'*Ser.
Appendix.*Luther
disputeth
with
Eckius
against
the pope's
supre-
macy.

he seemed to deny. Then, being asked of Carolostadt, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God; to this he answered, "the whole good work, but not wholly:" granting, that the will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this reasoned Carolostadt, alleging certain places of Austin, and especially of St. Paul, who saith, that God worketh in us both to will, and to perform.¹ And this sentence of Carolostadt seemed to overcome. Eckius, for his assertion, inferred certain exscripts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole week lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolostadt.

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but, having free liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Here is first to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: that they that do attribute the preeminency to the church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore: which decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all ancient histories, above a thousand years past; contrary also to the holy Scriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminency of the church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of pope Silvester I., do err, forasmuch as they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth.

This being the last of all the themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome; wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alleging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the bishop of Rome's sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto, if he must needs be urged, he would the fault should be understood of all men to be where it was: namely, in his adversaries who provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. Eckius again, clearing himself, translateth all the fault unto Luther, who first, in his treatise 'De Indulgentiis Papæ' defended, that before pope Silvester's time the church of Rome had no place of majority or pre-eminence above other churches: and also, before the cardinal Cajetan affirmed, that pope Pelagius wrested many places of the Scripture out of their proper sense unto his own affection and purpose: "Wherefore the fault hereof," said he, "to him rather is to be imputed, who ministered the first occasion."

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Martin Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor denied the same, moreover, to be

Disputa-
tion be-
tween
Luther
and Ec-
kius,
about
the pope's
suprema-
cy.

(1) Phil. ii. 3.

universal over all churches ; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days ;¹ during all which season, Eckius very dishonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reasons of Eckius were these : "Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ." To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, who is the only head of the church ; neither doth the church require any other head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual kingdom, not earthly : and he alleged for him the place of Colossians i. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this case, nor was the place alleged so greatly to the purpose.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.Reasons
of Eckius
for the su-
premacie.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, "Tu es Petrus," &c. "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my church," &c. 'To this was answered, that this was a confession of faith, and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole universal church ; as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect, both by his words, and the order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, "Pasce oves meas," "Feed my sheep ;" which words Eckius alleged to be spoken, properly and peculiarly, to Peter alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted," &c. "By these words," saith he, "Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what it is to feed ; and what he ought to be, that feedeth."

Luther's
answer to
the place,
'Tu es
Petrus.'Answer
of Luther
to, 'Pasce
oves
meas.'

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles : "De necessitate salutis est, credere Romanum pontificem Œcumenicum esse : " that is, "That it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe, the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church ;" alleging moreover, that in the same council it was debated and discussed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that all the articles which John Huss did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical ; with much other matter more. Again, of what authority that council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. "This is most certain," said he, "that no council hath such authority to make new articles of faith." Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of general councils : although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same, yet was he called

Council
of Con-
stance.See
Appl. c. liij.

(1) Ex Parilipomen. Abbat. Ursperg.

*Henry
VIII.*

A.D.
1518
to
1521.

heretic and schismatic, and one of the Bohemians' faction, with many other terms besides of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all bishops therefore to be equal; "for between apostleship and ministry," said he, "there is great difference."

To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide, that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the pope's decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place in Galatians ii., where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, saith; "And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me; for God accepteth no man's person. Nevertheless they that were of some reputation did avail nothing at all," &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter.¹ And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith; "*Ne Romanus pontifex universalis episcopus nominetur.*" &c. "Yea, let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop," &c. to this Eckius answered in this sort: that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called universal bishop; yet he may be called (saith he) bishop of the universal church. And thus much touching the question of the pope's supremacy.

Of purga-
tory.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and proved that there is purgatory; and alleged for him the place of Maccabees.² Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replied, the book of Maccabees to be of no less authority than the gospels. Also he alleged the place, 1 Cor. iii., "He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire." Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew v.: "Agree thou with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to prison; from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing," &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms,³ "We have passed through the fire and water," &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory, let the reader discern and judge.

Of indul-
gences.

Then was inferred the question of indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

Of pen-
ances.

At last they came to the question of penance; touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of pains of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny. But that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of God's justice upon the repentant sinner, as it is in man's power to remit or release, as pleaseth him; such penance neither Luther, nor any other true Christian did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this disputation between

(1) Here is good doctrine of Eckius, 1st row.

(2) 2 Mac. xii. 43—45.

(3) Psalm lxxvi. 12.

Luther and Eckius at Leipsic, which was in the month of July, *Henry VIII.*
A.D. 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulderic Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach; who, in the sixteenth article in his book of articles, recordeth, that Luther and he, both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testify, that in this present year, when Sampson a Franciscan came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulderic Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people to inveigle away their money.¹

The next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had revered both the person of the pope, and recognised the authority of his see, and had also dedicated unto him the book entitled, 'De Christiana Libertate:' that is, 'Of Christian Liberty;' in which book these two points principally he discusseseth and proveth:

- I. That a christian man is free, and lord over all things, and subject to none.
- II. That a christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject.

Moreover, in the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book also he wrote, addressed to the nobility of Germany, in which he impugneth and shaketh the three principal walls of the papists: the first whereof is this:

- I. Whereas the papists say, that no temporal or profane magistrate hath any power upon the spirituality, but these have power over the other.
- II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.
- III. When any council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope.

Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free council; also what things ought to be handled in councils; that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: "Tu supplex ora, tu protege, tuque labora:" wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties, are described; to wit, the minister, the magistrate, and the subjects. Furthermore, in the said book he proveth and discusseseth, that the

(1) Ex Sleid. lib. I.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

emperor is not under the pope ; but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged : that priests may have wives : that the voices of the people ought not to be separate from the election of ecclesiastical persons : that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times is brought in by avarice : what is the right use of excommunication : that there ought to be fewer holidays : that liberty ought not be restrained in meats : that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished : what damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Constance ; and what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome : that heretics should be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's word : how schools and universities ought to be reformed : what is to be said and judged of the pope's decretals : that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel : Item, he writeth in the same book against excessive apparel among the Germans : also against their excess in spices, &c.

Charles
the emperor
crowned.
*See
Appendix.*

In this year moreover followed, not long after, the coronation of the new emperor Charles V., which was in the month of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle. After which coronation being solemnized, about the month of November pope Leo sent again to duke Frederic two cardinals his legates, of whom one was Hierome Aleander, who, after a few words of high commendation first premised to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, made two requests unto him in the pope's name : first, that he would cause all books of Luther to be burned ; secondly, that he would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to Rome, unto the pope's presence.

Duke
Frederic's
answer
to the
pope's le-
gates.

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke ; who, answering again to the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this he heard, that Eckius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of divers other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty ; first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg ; and afterwards, at the pope's commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Miltitius, the pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest he might do more harm in other countries, where he was less known : and so now also was he as ready to do his duty, wheresoever right and equity did so require. But forasmuch as in this cause he saw much hatred and violence showed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and sound men of judgment ; and forasmuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the said legates to be a mean to the pope's holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might first be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned : which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture revinced, Luther should

find no favour at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope's holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with equity, and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform, &c.

Then the cardinals (declaring to the duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but that according to the form of their prescript commission they must proceed), took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire unto them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them; which was the 10th of December A.D. 1520.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1518
to
1521.

The legates burn the books of Luther. Luther burneth the pope's decrees.

A little before these things thus passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be holden at the city of Worms, against the 6th day of January next ensuing; in which assembly, through the means of duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther there brought before him; and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforesaid, which was the 6th of January; afterwards, upon the 6th of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him license to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent unto him, he might be more fully certified. Wherefore, without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present on the twenty-first day after the receipt thereof: and because he should not misdoubt fraud or injury herein, the emperor assured unto him his warrant and promise.

The emperor's letter, with his safe conduct, sent to Luther.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe-conduct by the emperor, after he had been first accursed at Rome upon Maunday Thursday by the pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms, where the said Luther, appearing before the emperor and all the states of Germany, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries, and what adversaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened; according as in our former edition partly was before described.

Luther accursed at Rome, by the pope.

THE ACTS AND DOINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE
EMPEROR, AT THE CITY OF WORMS.

See Appendix.

In the year of our salvation 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered into Worms, being sent for by the emperor Charles V., who, the first year of his empire, made an assembly of princes in the aforesaid city. And whereas Martin Luther had

A.D. 1521

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1521.

published three years before, certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg, in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope (which, notwithstanding, were torn in pieces, condemned, and burned by the papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason convinced), the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that Luther should be called; assigning unto him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe-conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the knights-of-the-Rhodes' place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited by many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging until night.

Luther's
con-
stancy.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe-conduct; yet for that a few days before his access his books were condemned by public proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenheim (where Luther was first advertised of these occurrents); and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not the faith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, answered in this wise: "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms."

*See
Appendix.*

The next day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the imperial majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms), came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights-of-the-Rhodes' place, to the earl palatine's palace; and, lest the people that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Luther
brought
before the
emperor.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the bishop of Treves' general official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch,¹ according to the emperor's commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

(1) "Dutch," that is High Dutch, or German; "Deutsch." F.D.

‘Martin Luther! the sacred and invincible imperial majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldst be appealed before the throne of his majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points.

Henry VIII.
A.D.
1521.

‘First, Whether thou confessest these books here [for he showed a heap of Luther’s books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues], and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

‘Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to what thou hast written?’

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Schurffe, a lawyer of Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. Forthwith the aforesaid Eckius named certain of the books, and those principally that were imprinted at Basil; among which he nominated his Commentaries upon the Psalter, his book of Good Works, his Commentary upon the Lord’s Prayer, and divers others which were not contentious.

Jerome Schurffe.

After this, Luther answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

‘Two things are proponed unto me by the imperial majesty: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published: whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

Luther’s answer.

‘In the first, I can do no other than recognise those books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith, and the salvation of the soul (and this concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we ought duly evermore to reverence), this might be accounted in me a rashness of judgment, and even so a most dangerous attempt, if I would pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the imperial majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and peril of mine own soul.’

He refuseth to revoke his books.

Desireth respite to answer.

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying,

‘Albeit, Master Luther! thou hast sufficiently understood by the emperor’s commandment, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the emperor’s majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice.’

Speech of Eckius.

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread Him, that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire.

Luther exhorted to be constant.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; ‘When thou

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1521.

art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given thee in that hour." Matt. x.

The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

Eckius again poundeth against Luther.

'Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's majesty assigned thee to be here, Master Luther! for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in theology. Then go to; answer even now to the emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintain all thy books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?'

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch.¹ Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and christian constancy; so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

Luther's Answer to Eckius.

Emperor, and my most magnificent lord, and you most excellent princes, and my most gentle lords! I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of justice and verity: and if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenances of the court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this: that I have taught and instructed hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, to the salvation of men's souls, *and to the institution of the faithful Christians in all sincerity and doctrine.*²

See Appendix.

He giveth account of his faith.

Now, as concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and be published in my name; or whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given resolute answer to the first, in which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but what I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

Now to answer to the second article; I beseech your most excellent majesty,

(1) Dutch," German.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 410.—Ed.

and your graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my books are not of one sort: there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read by all Christians. And truly the pope's bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my books inculpable; albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundereth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my books: which books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books which containeth invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, who have, with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity: neither can any deny or dissemble this (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness), that the consciences of all faithful men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men; also that the goods and substance of christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany; and yet, without order, and in most detestable manner, are suffered still to be devoured without all measure, by incredible tyranny: notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper laws, as in the 9th and 25th distinctions, and in the 1st and 2d questions; where they themselves have decreed, that all such laws of popes as be repugnant to the doctrine of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd. If then I should revoke these, I can do no other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows, but wide gates to their impiety, which is likely to extend more wide, and more licentiously, than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established; especially if this be bruited, that I, Luther, have done this by the authority of your most excellent majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O Lord! what a cover or shadow shall I be then, to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny. The rest, or third sort of my books, are such as I have written against certain private and singular persons; to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself no saint, and I dispute 'not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ. And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means; and so shall they exercise cruelty against people more violently and ragingly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine; who, being examined of his learning before Annas, and having received a buffet of the minister, said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil' [John xviii.]. If the Lord, who was perfect and could not err, refused not to have testimony given against his doctrine, yea of a most vile servant, how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine. Therefore I require, for God's mercy, your most excellent majesty, your graces and right honourable lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles; and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of error: yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books and burn them.

I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished: concerning which divisions of men's minds what other men do judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1521.

He divideth
his works
into three
parts.

The pope
proceed-
eth con-
trary to
his own
doctrine.

Luther
requir-
eth to be
instruct-
ed, if he
have
erred.

Dissen-
sions and
divisions
follow the
doctrine
of Christ,
not for
any cause
in the
doctrine,
but in the
adver-
sary.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1521.

See
Appendix.

Man's
counsel,
without
God's
word and
his fear,
is un-
fortunate.

gospel : Jesus Christ saith, ' I came not to send peace but a sword ; I came to set a man at variance with his father.' [Matt. x.]

And further we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels ; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass (if we begin first with condemning of his word), the same rebound again to a huge sea of evil ; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous prince Charles (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope), be lamentably, unfortunately, and miserably begun. I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms, and not by God's counsels : for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wiliness, and subverteth mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's work, to dread the Lord.

I speak not this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads have need of my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent majesty, and your honourable lordships ; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken.

Luther
again
urged to
submit
himself.

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance began and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose ; neither behoved it him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by general councils : and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no ?—Then Luther said :

His ab-
solute
answer.

' Considering your sovereign majesty, and your honours, require a plain answer ; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and the word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may not revoke any manner of thing ; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest : I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me !'

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther ; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus :

Eckius
again
replieth.

' Martin, thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy books into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed : and therefore, if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the emperor's majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have suffered the rest that be sound, to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again, all that the general council of Constance hath condemned, which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures ; wherein thou errest greatly. For what availeth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded ? Now were it so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and councils, that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we should have nothing certain and established in Christendom. And this is the cause wherefore the emperor's majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as christian, or no ?'

The
papists
stand
only upon
their
church
and coun-
cils.

Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1521.

'I have declared and rendered,' said he, 'mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can I, with a safe conscience assent unto them. For, as touching general councils, with whose authority only they press me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many times things contrary to themselves. And therefore the authority of them,' he said, 'is not sufficient, for which I should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in the holy Scripture, that neither of me it ought to be inquired, neither can he so do without impiety.'

General councils have erred, and been contrary to themselves.

Whereunto the official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils to have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, the lords arose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the council a certain letter, containing in effect as followeth.

See Appendix.

The Emperor's Letter against Luther.

Our predecessors, who truly were christian princes, were obedient to the Romish church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore, in as much as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents by excommunication, and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place whence he came.

CONSULTATION UPON THE EMPEROR'S LETTER.

The princes-electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted upon this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that Luther as yet had no answer from the emperor.

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the laity and common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe-conduct given him; which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

Great respect to Luther.

Henry VIII
 A.D. 1521. The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him at six o'clock before dinner, the place to be afterward assigned. On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at the hour prescribed he must, the morrow after, appear before his lordship at his own hotel.

See Appendix.

He appeareth before the archbishop of Treves. The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's commandment, entered his hotel, being accompanied thither by his said chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with other his chief friends.

SUBSTANCE OF DR. VÆUS'S ORATION TO LUTHER.

Dr. Væus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare and protest (in the presence of the archbishop of Treves, Joachim marquis of Brandenburg, George duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the earl George, John Bock of Strasburg, Verdeheymer and Peutinger, doctors,) as followeth.

The authority of councils.

That Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the princes had procured license of the emperor's majesty, through christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort Luther benignly and brotherly.—He said further, that albeit the councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased; or at the least not so erred, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions: inferring moreover many things of Zaccheus and the centurion, also of the traditions, and of constitutions, and of ceremonies ordained of men: affirming that all these were established to repress vices, according to the quality of times; and that the church could not be destitute of human constitutions.¹ It is true, said he, that by the fruits the tree may be known; yet of these laws and decrees of men, many good fruits have proceeded; and St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints have been present at the councils.

Moreover, he said that Luther's books would breed a great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book 'of christian liberty,' encouraging them to shake off their yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, than when the believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have laws. It was to be considered (said he), albeit he had written many good things, and no doubt of a good mind, as 'De triplici Justitia,' and other matters, yet how the devil now, by crafty means, goeth about to bring to pass, that all his works for ever should be condemned. For by these books which he wrote last, men (said he) would judge and esteem him, as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Psalm. xci. v. 5, 6.

Here he added something of the noon devil, and of the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of laws, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proem, middle, and epilogue of his oration: That this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his oration he added menacings, saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire,

(1) This he said of Luther's words, who denied any good fruits to come of their laws.

persuading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things. Martin Luther answered :

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1521.

The Substance of Luther's Answer to Væus.

'Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords ! I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition : for I know myself to be so base, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty estates.' Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reprov'd all councils, but only the council of Constance ; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemn'd the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propos'd by John Huss : 'The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate.' 'It is evident,' said he, 'that the council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith : I believe the holy church universal.' And further he said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God ; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men : and that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of faith ; for there be two manner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life : the offences of faith or doctrine rest in the word of God : and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways ; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's sheep were fed with pure pasture of the gospel ; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates who duly would execute their office ; we should not need, said he, to charge the church with men's traditions. Further, that he knew well we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived : we ought also to be obedient to their laws and judgment : all which he had taught (said he) in all his works ; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, so that they forced him not to deny the word of God.

The council of Constance condemn'd the word of God.

Scandal of faith and charity.

These words finished, Luther was bid to withdraw, and the princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him back into the room, where the aforesaid doctor Væus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor and to the princes' judgment. Luther answered humbly and modestly,

The princes consult about Luther.

That he could not, neither would, permit that men should say he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. So far was it off that he would refuse to stand to their trial, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged by the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the word of God, and the holy Scripture : and that the word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson he said he learned of St. Augustine, who writeth, that he gave his honour only to those books which are called canonical ; that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of learning they surpassed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word. Further, said he, St. Paul giveth us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians,¹ 'Prove all things, follow that is good.' And to the Galatians,² 'Though an angel should descend from heaven, if he preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed,' and therefore not to be believed !

The word of God, only true.

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of the word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor's majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be con-

(1) 1 Thess. v. 21.

(2) Gal. i. 8.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1521.

pelled to do any thing in this matter, against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself, with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim elector, marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? "Yea truly, right noble lord!" quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly brake up, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

After their departure the archbishop of Treves, accompanied with a few of his familiars, namely John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlour. With Luther was Jerome Scurffe, and Nicholas Ambsdorff, for his assistants. Then the official began to frame an argument, like a sophist and canonist, defending the pope's cause: that for the most part at all times holy Scriptures have engendered errors, as the error of Helvidius the heretic, out of that place in the gospel, where it is expressed, "Joseph knew not his wife till she was delivered of her first child." Further, he went about to overthrow this proposition: that the catholic church is the communion of saints.

Martin Luther and Jerome Scurffe reprov'd (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth, as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his five eggs, and laboured to persuade Luther to desist from his purpose, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach; and so they departed.

About evening the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther by Ambsdorff, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutinger, and the doctor of Baden (which was Vœus), the morrow after to him; and he himself would also talk with him.

The morrow after, which was St. Mark's day, Peutinger, and the doctor of Baden, travailed in the forenoon to persuade Luther simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his writings to the emperor and empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded it upon authority of holy Scripture; otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: for God said by his prophet (saith he), "Trust ye not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health." Also, "Cursed be he that trusteth in man." And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered; "We ought to yield no more to the judgment of men, than the word of God doth suffer." So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better answer; and said, they would return after dinner. And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council in such sort, as, notwithstanding, the sentence awarded by the council should be authorised by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

False arguments
for the
pope.

Solicitation
to
cause Lu-
ther to
yield.
*See
Appendix.*

Luther's
condi-
tion.

They then, leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the archbishop of Treves, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture), unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1521.

False witness.

It chanced then by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Treves sent for Luther, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise than Peutingner and the doctor of Baden had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak: for else he was even now going to the emperor, to declare what the doctors had reported.

The providence of God.

See Appendix.

Then the archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe-conduct, attempting him with new commandments, had condemned his opinion and approved the pope's bull.

Familiar talk between the archbishop and Luther.

Moreover the archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this. Luther answered, that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth St. Luke, saying; "If this counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it." And so he desired that the emperor might be advertised to write the same to the pope, that he knew certainly, if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two years.

Luther's prophecy out of Gamaliel.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would do, if certain articles were taken out of his books, to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "So that they be not those which the council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same: but what then?" Luther replied, "I neither will nor can hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Luther's constancy.

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the archbishop to entreat the emperor's majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered, he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, who had been Maximilian's chancellor, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely by the imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1521.Luther
sent
home.

proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should within twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther, hearing this, answered very modestly and christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed!" He said further, he thanked most humbly the emperor's majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonance of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was prest to suffer all chances for the imperial majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach: reserving nothing to himself, but only the word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending himself to the emperor's majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

*See
App. endir.*His de-
parture
from
Worms.

The morrow after, which was April the 26th, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and of others, his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten o'clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him, as is said, for twenty-one days, and no more. The emperor's herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of Martin Luther.

Confirm, O God! in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory: so be it.¹

Luther,
in his
journey
writeth
to the
emperor
and no-
bles of
Germany

Martin Luther, thus being dismissed by the emperor, according to the promise of his safe-conduct made, as you have heard, departed from Worms towards his country, April the 26th, accompanied by the emperor's herald, and the rest of his company, having only twenty-one days granted to him for his return, and no more. In that mean space of his return he writeth to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour; which, as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole church universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

The doc-
tors of
Paris con-
demn his
books.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and schoolmen of Paris were not behind on their parts, but, to show their cunning, condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of the same, espe-

(1) Ex Histor. Philip. Melaneth.; ex Sleidano.; ex Paral. Abb. Ursperg.; et ex Casp. Pucero.

cially out of the book 'De Captivitate Babylonica,' certain articles touching the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free-will, privileges of holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school-divinity, and other points. Unto whom Philip Melancthon maketh answer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1521.

Melancthon answereth them.

It was not long after this, but Charles, the new emperor, to purchase favour with the pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire), provideth and directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that took his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thanks with the pope; insomuch that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French king, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the mean time duke Frederic, to give some place for the time to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books also unto his friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, 'De abroganda Missa:' which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter: committing the doing thereof to four; Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon, Nicholas Ambsdorff, Johannes Dulcius.

Luther
outlawed
by the
emperor.
See
Appendix.

The minds of the whole university being searched, it was showed to the duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcome the better part; neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, who willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus showed they their judgment to duke Frederic.

The mass
laid down
first at
Witten-
berg.

Judg-
ment of
the uni-
versity
against it.

It happened moreover about the same year and time, that king Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the book 'De Captivitate Babylonica,' wrote against Luther. In which book, first, he reproveth Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons; secondly, he defendeth the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; thirdly, he laboureth to refell all his doctrine of the sacraments of the church.

A. D. 1521.

King
Henry
writeth
against
Luther.

This book, albeit it carried the king's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the king had the thanks and also the reward; for consequently upon the same, the bishop of Rome gave to the said king Henry, for the style against Luther, the

Made
'Defen-
der of the
Faith.'

Henry
VIII.

style and title of 'Defender of the Christian Faith;' and to his successors for ever.¹

A. D.
1522.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, through the emperor's aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan, he, sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him: first, that he, being banished out of his country, was restored to Florence again with glory; secondly, that he had deserved to be called apostolic; thirdly, that he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy: After he had spoken these words, he was stricken with sudden fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of forty-seven years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to him was pope Adrian VI., schoolmaster some time to Charles the emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his papacy; during whose small time these three especial things were incident: a great pestilence in Rome, wherein above a hundred thousand were consumed; the loss of Rhodes by the Turk; and the capital war which the said pope Adrian, with the emperor, and the Venetians, and the king of England, did hold against Francis the French king. This pope Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other popes have been: and yet, like a right pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany, A. D. 1522.

Death of
Leo in the
midst of
his tri-
umph.

Great
pesti-
lence in
Rome.

Adrian
an enemy
to Luther.
A diet at
Nurem-
berg.

Painted
pretences
ought to
be exa-
mined.

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the princes there assembled. His letters, with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair show and

(1) The title of this curious production is 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.' A good edition was printed in London in 1688, to which are adjoined Henry VIII.'s epistle to the pope, Mr. John Clark's oration, and the pope's answer thereunto. As also the pope's bull, by which his holiness was pleased to bestow upon king Henry VIII. (for composing this book) 'that most illustrious, splendid, and most christian title of Defender of the Faith. Faithfully translated into English by J. W. gent.' A copy of the portion of the bull which conferred the title is subjoined. 'Considering that it is but just, that those who undertake pious labours in defence of the faith of Christ, should be extolled with all praise and honour; and being willing, not only to magnify with con-dign praise, and approve with our authority, what your majesty has with learning and eloquence writ against Luther; but, also, to honour your majesty with such a title, as shall give all Chris-tians to understand, as well in our times as in succeeding ages, how acceptable and welcome your gift was to us, especially in this juncture of time: We, the true successor of St. Peter, whom Christ, before his ascension, left as his vicar upon earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flock; presiding in this holy see, from whence all dignity and titles have their source, having with our brethren maturely deliberated on these things, and, with one consent, unanimously decreed to bestow on your majesty this title, viz. Defender of the Faith. - And as we have by this title honoured you; we likewise command all Christians, that they name your majesty by this title; and, in their writings to your majesty, that immediately after the word KING, they add DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. Having thus weighed and diligently considered your singular merits, we could not have invented a more congruous name, nor more worthy your majesty, than this worthy and most excellent title: which as often as you hear or read, you shall remember your own merits and virtues; nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but, according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble in the faith of Christ, and more strong and constant in your devotion to this holy see, by which you were exalted. And you shall rejoice in our Lord, who is the giver of all good things, for leaving such a perpetual and everlasting monument of your glory to posterity, and showing the way to others; that if they also covet to be invested with such a title, they may study to do such actions, and to follow the steps of your most excellent majesty, whom, with your wife, children, and all who shall spring from you, we bless with a bountiful and liberal hand, in the name of Him from whom the power of benediction is given to us, and by whom kings reign and princes govern, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings.' The Bull is dated 'the fifth of the Ides of October, A. D. 1521.'—*Eu.*

colour of painted zeal and religion, and bear resemblance of great truth and care of the church, able to deceive the outward ears of those who are not inwardly in true religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter, in cases like, to be prudent and circumspect in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of men, especially in church-matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth; going not upon terms, but grounded upon the word and revealed will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the letter of this pope, conceived and directed against Luther, proceedeth to this effect:

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1522.

Pope Adrian the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of Germany, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire.

See Appendix.

Right honourable brethren, and dear children, greeting and apostolic benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's divine providence) to the office of the see apostolic, he who hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good pastor, in attending to the health and cure of the flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheep through the whole universal flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's fold again.¹ And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our messengers, as by our daily letters, how to reclaim the minds of christian princes from the intestine wars and dissensions among themselves to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armour against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expenses we have burdened ourselves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the christian faith, against the Turkish tyranny, by which they were besieged.

And now, to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies,² first after the fatherly advertisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry universities also; and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, elect emperor of the Romans, and catholic king of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all christian charity and godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies and sedition (whether of his own head, or by the help of others), and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his fautors and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests (which perhaps is the chief ground of this stir begun) contrary to the obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and temporal persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil war and dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with yourselves, and consider. For although the apostle hath told us before,³ That

Terms without truth.

Evil called good, and good evil.

(1) If these pastors care any thing for the sheep, it is only for the wool.

(2) Rather a new raiser-up of the old doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles!

(3) 1 Cor. xi. 19.

Harry
VIII.

A.D.
1522.

Who sow-
eth these
heresies,
but he
who will
not let the
Scripture
take
place?

heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c., yet was there never time, either so inconvenient to raise up heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the devil, the perpetual enemy of mankind, roaring in the shape of a lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same devil, under the colour of a wily dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditions among ourselves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schisms to be divided.

We remember, before the time of our papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse doctrine; which rumours and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that country, where we ourself, after the flesh, took our first beginning. But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold; reputed thus with ourself, that such pestiferous plants,^{aa} translated from other countries to Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was ever wont to be a weeder out of all heresies and infidelity. But now, since this evil tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the sins of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged, and spread its branches so far; you therefore, both princes and people of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, who, at the first springing up of this evil, might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your overmuch sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

Here we omit and pass over, what enormity, and more than enormity that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one friar (who, relinquishing the catholic faith and christian religion, which he before professed, playeth the Apostate, and hath lied to God), be now seduced from that way, which first Christ our Redeemer^{bb} and his blessed apostles have opened unto us; which so many martyrs, so many holy fathers, so many great learned men, and also your own fore-elders, and old ancestors have always hitherto walked in; as though Luther only had all wit and cunning: as though he only now first had received the Holy Ghost (as the heretic Montanus used to boast of himself); or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of ignorance and perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt but to such as have judgment, will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to others, who, being weary of all good order, do gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefs, as partly yourselves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended?^{cc} or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other

(aa) He meaneth the doctrine of John Huss translated into Germany.

(bb) Christ and his apostles taught us, that we are saved by faith only in the Son of God: the same doth Luther preach, and the pope deny. Holy martyrs and fathers in the old time, ministered the communion in both kinds to the people, and taught that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments: the same doth Luther affirm, and the pope deny. The old way of the fathers was this, that they never had any advocates and mediators but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christ's passion for money. In the same way doth Luther now walk; whereas the pope hath devised a new way to walk in for money, with a hundred other new devices, new sects, and new ordinances, which the old fathers never knew.

(cc) The doctrine of Luther hath been preached in Germany above these forty years; and yet is there never a prince, nor magistrate, nor citizen in Germany, God be praised! who, by the doctrine of Luther, is worse by one half-penny: whereas by the pope, good reckoning hath been made, that Germany hath been worse by three millions of florins by the year. Out of the territory of the bishop of Mentz amount to the pope, for the archbishop's pail, twenty-six thousand florins. In the council of Basil it was openly declared, that nine millions of gold were gathered in the time of pope Martin, and translated to Rome. Now let the princes of Germany consider this. [See

thing, than under the name of liberty to supplant obedience, and so to open a general license to every man to do what him listeth?^{dd} And suppose you that they will any thing regard your commandments, or esteem your laws, who so contemptuously vilipend the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, yea, and the most holy councils also (to whose authority the emperor's laws have always given room and place), and not only vilipend them, but also, with a diabolical audacity, have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a lighted fire?^{ee} They who refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and who daily before your own faces make their booties of church-goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, how can you hope that they will more spare you,^{ff} or hold their murdering hands from your throats, who have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's anointed, who are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon you, your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow and reverence; except you provide some speedy remedy against the same.

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1522.

Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for christian charity and religion (for which religion your forefathers oftentimes have given their blood to uphold and increase the same), and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience^{gg} which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his vicar here in earth, that, setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among yourselves, you confer your helping hands every man to quench this public fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other fautors of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they who be infected shall refuse to hear your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how we, both for our nature, and also for our pastoral office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the schismatical brethren^{hh} Dathan and Abiram; and him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. So the old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded.ⁱⁱ So St. Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the council of Constance^{kk} condemn to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, who now appeareth to revive again in Luther.

Vita Io. Tezeli quæstoris sacri a G. Hechtio; (8vo. Vitemb. 1717) pp. 34, 35. Sleidan, lib. iv. p. 207. Edit. Francof. 1785.—Ed.]

(*dd*) The preaching of christian liberty of the soul, breaketh no civil order touching the outward obedience of the body. But the pope would have the souls of men in his bondage, and therefore he cannot abide this inward liberty of the spirit to be touched, for that were against the pope's purse and profit, which were a heresy intolerable.

(*ee*) This is no good consequence: Luther burned the pope's stinking decretals, ergo he will not stick also to burn the books of the civil law.

(*ff*) The persecuting Pagans in the old time, did object to the old fathers of the primitive church, the blasphemies of Thieste's supper, of the incest of Oedipus, and the worshipping of an ass's head. In much like sort doth the pope here lay unto Luther riots, rebellions, and all mischiefs he can devise; not because they are true, but because he would have the world so to believe.

(*gg*) Obedience to God, and obedience to St. Peter and his vicar, do not well match together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the creature is another.

(*hh*) Let the pope follow the word of God as Moses did, and be sent of God expressly as Moses was; and then let Luther be punished as Dathan and Abiram were. Again; if the pope be the successor of Peter, and have his authority, why then doth not the pope, bearing the keys of Peter, exercise the power of his spirit upon Luther his great enemy, as Peter did upon Ananias and Sapphira?

(*ii*) If Jovinian, Priscillian, and Vigilant were proved heretics, they were proved not only by canons and councils, but by Scripture; so was Luther never.

(*kk*) Your fathers in the council of Constance did kill the prophets of God, and you make up their graves. But thanks be unto God, who hath given such light unto the world, to understand your cruel impiety in killing John Huss, which you thought should never be espied.

*Henry
VIII.*

*A. D.
1522.*

The worthy acts and examples of which forefathers,^{ll} if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful clemency shall cftsoons relieve his church; which, being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous nation that we have in Christendom.

Wherefore, upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed St. Peter, which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false dragon,^{mm} as the strong lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward heresies, as the foreign enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in money or authority, we will not fail to support you therein, yea, and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our sheep to us committed.ⁿⁿ Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this Cheregatus our legate, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty legate.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanct. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die 25 Novemb. Anno 1522, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the ring of the fisher, the 25th day of November, A. D. 1522, in the first year of our pontificate.

By this letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to note and understand, what either wily persuasions or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glozing sentences, or outward facing and bracing, could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or the specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almighty power of God, in defending the cause of this poor man against so mighty enemies.

Now hear further what instructions the said pope Adrian sent to his legate Cheregatus,^l how and by what reasons to move and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

*See
appendix.*

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touching his proceedings in the Diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the Princes against Luther.

'Imprimis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our heart for the prospering of Luther's sect, to see the innumerable souls, redeemed with Christ's blood, and committed to our pastoral government, to be turned away from the true faith and religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native country, which hath been ever heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in religion: and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should be stopped betimes, lest the same happen to that country of Germany, which happened of late to

- (ll) You have well imitated your forefathers already, in burning so many Lutherans; and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish infidels the space of these forty years?

(mm) The false dragon resembleth the pope, and the strong lion the Turk.

(nn) The false dragon here seeth that it is time to bestir him.

(1) The 'Instructions to Cheregatus,' are reprinted in the *Historia Concil. general. auct. Edmundo Richerio.* (4to Colonia, 1691) tom. iv. part 2, pp. 65 69.—Ed.

Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may; as likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared to them.

Henry
VIII.
A. D.
1522.

First, the honour of God,^{aa} which, before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity every man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

The first
cause to
stir men
against
Luther.

The second cause to move them against Luther, is the infamy of their nation; which, being counted before-time always most christian, now by these sectaries of Luther is evil spoken of in all other quarters.

Second
cause.

The third cause is the respect of their own honour, which notoriously will be distained, if they who most excel in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expel these heresies: first, for that they shall appear to degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Huss and other heretics, are said, some of them, with their own hands to have led John Huss to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approving with their authority the imperial edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther, now, except they shall follow the execution of the same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.^{bb}

Third
cause.

The fourth cause is the injury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and their progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselves also, have always holden the same faith which the Catholic church of Rome hath appointed; contrary to which faith Luther, with his sectaries, now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their aforesaid ancestors have holden to be of faith. It is manifest therefore, that they be condemned by Luther for infidels and heretics: and so consequently, by Luther's doctrine, all their fore-elders and progenitors who have deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation.

Fourth
cause.

The fifth cause to move them, is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans do tend;^{cc} which is, that under the shadow of evangelical liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although, at the first beginning, they pretended only to annul and repress our power ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the gospel; yet, forasmuch as liberty is all their foundation and pretence (by which liberty, the secular power and magistrates cannot bind men by any commandments, be they ever so just or so reasonable,^{dd} to obey them under pain of mortal sin), it is manifest that their scope is to enfeeble and infringe, as much or more, the secular state also, although covertly they pretend to salve it; to the end, that when the secular princes shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laity (which commonly hath been always against men of the church) holding with them, shall suffer the churchmen to be devoured: which done, no doubt but^{ee} they will afterward practise the like upon the

Fifth
cause.

(*aa*) The honour of God consisteth principally in honouring Jesus the Son of God, whom the Father hath sent. Now examine, good reader! whether more extolth the honour of Christ, the doctrine of Luther, or the doctrine of the pope? Luther sendeth us only to Christ; the pope sendeth us to other patrons and helpers. Luther's doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; the pope's doctrine, if it be well weighed, tendeth to the glory of man. Luther cleaveth only to the Scripture; the pope leaneth to the canons and councils of men.

(*bb*) This edict of the emperor above touched, was devised and set out unknown to divers of the princes there, and seemeth chiefly to be brought about by the pope and his flatterers about him. Look more hereof in the story of Sleidan. lib. iii.

(*cc*) The doctrine of Luther tendeth against the usurped power of the see of Rome; ergo the doctrine of Luther dissolveth all obedience due to magistrates. This consequent is to be denied, for the power of magistrates is of God; and he that resisteth them, resisteth God. So is not the usurped power of the pope.

(*dd*) If the pope doth say, that no precepts of magistrates do oblige under pain of mortal sin, he saith not true; if he say that Luther so teacheth, he believeth Luther; who teacheth all men to be subject unto magistrates; no man more.

(*ee*) Whoso considereth the doctrine of Luther, 'De libertate Christiana,' shall find this to be a false slander: for how is it likely that he meaneth any rebellion, who, describing a Christian, calleth him a servant, and an underling to all men?

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1522.Sixth
cause.

secular princes and potestates, which now they attempt against our ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The sixth cause to move and persuade them against Luther, is this, for them to consider the fruits which follow that sect : as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murders, seditions,^{ff} dissensions, which this sect hath stirred, and daily doth stir up through whole Germany : also blasphemies, slanderous words, scoffings, jests, and bitter taunts,^{gg} which are ever in their mouths ; against which, unless that they shall find a present remedy, it is to be feared lest the desolation of God's wrath will fall upon Germany, being so divided ; or rather upon the princes of Germany, who, having the sword given of God into their hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities among their subjects. 'Cursed is he,' saith the prophet, 'which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his sword from the blood of wicked doers.' Jeremiah xxviii.

Seventh
cause.

The seventh reason is, that the princes should consider how Luther useth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venomous viper Mahomet practised in deceiving so many thousands of souls, in permitting to them the liberty of those things which flesh desireth, and afterwards in exempting them from such things as be more sharp in the law ; but that Luther a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually : for Mahomet^{hh} giveth license to have many wives, and to divorce and marry others at their pleasure. This Luther, to draw unto him the favour of nuns, monks, and priests, such as be lascivious in flesh, preacheth that vows of perpetual continency be unlawful ; much less to be obligatory ; and therefore permitth unto them that they may marry ; forgetting, by the way, what the apostle writeth of young widows, saying ; 'that when they wax wanton against Christ, then will they marry ; having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith,' 1 Tim. v. 12.

These and other such like reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name exhort the aforesaid princes, prelates, and people, to awake and employ their diligence how to gainstand, first, the injury of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion : secondly, their villany toward the whole nation of the Germans and their princes, and especially the shameful contumely towards their fathers and elders, whom in effect they condemn to hell. In consideration whereof you shall call upon them to remember themselves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the apostolical sentence, and of the emperor's edict ; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault : the others, who obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the rod of district severity, according to the decrees of the canons and laws of the church ; that, by their example, such as stand may remain in faith, and they that are fallen may be reduced.

And if any shall object again, that Luther was condemned by the apostolic see before he was heard, and that his cause ought first to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted, you shall answer, that thoseⁱⁱ things which pertain to faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. 'Take away,' saith Ambrose, 'arguments where faith is sought : there the fishers, not the philosophers, must be trusted.' True it is, and we grant no less but that the lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such cases, where the question is of the fact, whether it were done or not ; as whether he spake, preached, wrote, or not. But where the matter is of God's law, or in

(ff) The cause why the pope doth charge the Lutherans with sedition, did rise upon this ; because one Francisus Sickingus, a valiant man, and a great favourer of Luther, did war against the archbishop of Treves, for withholding two certain persons from judgment, who should have appeared, and by his means did not.

(gg) As for slanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the pope charge Luther, being himself so impudent and bitter, as in this his present letter is manifest to be seen ? wherein he sheweth himself in his own colours what he is.

(hh) If the doings and properties of Mahomet be rightly considered, none should be found so aptly to resemble him, as the pope himself. He declineth from the word of God, and setteth up another law ; so doth the pope. He killeth and slayeth the contrary part ; so doth the pope. He holdeth salvation by works of the law ; so doth the pope ; and if Mahomet give liberty of flesh, so doth not Luther ; but the pope both taketh it, and also dispenseth with the same. Mahomet would not have his religion reasoned upon ; no more will the pope. Briefly, as the sect of Mahomet is divided into many sundry sorts of religion, and of religious men ; so hath the sect of the pope its friars, monks, nuns, hermits, and other swarms of an infinite variety.

(ii) Here the pope agreeth rightly with Mahomet, for he will not have his religion reasoned upon, no more will the pope have his.

the cause of the sacraments, there must we always stand to the authority of holy fathers, and of the church. Now all things almost, wherein Luther dissenteth from others, are reprov'd before by divers councils; neither ought those things to be called into question, which have been defined before by general councils, and the universal church; but ought to be received by faith: for else he doth injury to the synod of the church, who so bringeth again into controversy things once rightly discussed and settled. Otherwise what certainty can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawful for every lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of the catholic church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many times by right judgment constituted, be observed by all men as inviolable? Wherefore, seeing Luther and his fellows do condemn the councils of holy fathers, do burn the holy canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbors of the public peace?

Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us; and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifieth,¹ that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. 'And therefore,' saith Chrysostom, 'Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician, who first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root.' We know that in this holy see^{kk} there have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised; as abuses in matters spiritual, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the sickness,^{ll} first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, have descended afterwards to inferior prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the church) have declined every one after his own way; 'neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one.' Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself, before he be judged of God with the rod of his fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court: that like as this contagion first from thence descended into all inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take its beginning; whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same. We ourselves, as you know, never sought this dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet state to serve God; and also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schism to follow after, have urged us to take it. And thus took we the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholic church, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things besides, as appertaineth to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses be not straightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The sore is great, and far grown, and is

Henry

VIII.

A. D.

1522.

Grant
this to
the pope,
and he
may play
the lord
of mis-
rule, and
do what
he list-
eth.

Caiaphas
himself
could
never
prophecy
more
truly.

The pope
promiseth
reforma-
tion of his
own
court, but
when be-
ginneth
he?

(1) Isaiah lix.

(kk) And how then can this be called a holy see, where so many abominable impieties, and manifold excesses, both in spiritual matters, and also in external life, are seen and practised? such ambition in the prelates; such pride in the pope; such avarice in the court; and, finally, where such corruption is of all things, as you yourselves do here confess, and cannot deny?

(ll) True it is, that the sickness hath begun in the head, that is, at the very triple crown: and therefore the sickness being great, and having need of a sharp physician, God hath sent Luther unto the pope (as Erasmus writeth of him), as a meet physician to cure his disease; yet he refuseth to be healed.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1522.

not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted; and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest, while we intend to amend all, we destroy all.^{mm} 'All sudden mutations in a commonwealth,' saith Aristotle, 'are perilous;' and 'He that wringeth too hard, straineth out blood,' Prov. xxx.

And whereas in your last letters you wrote, that the princes complain, how this see hath been, and is, prejudicial to their ordinances and agreements, hereunto you shall thus answer: that such excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have disliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right, and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him: and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

And as touching the processes which they desired to have removed away 'a rota,'ⁿⁿ and to be referred down to the parties, you shall signify unto them, that we will gratify them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the city, by reason of the plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. As soon as they shall return (which we hope will be shortly), we shall do in the prince's favour what reasonably we may.

Further: whereas we understand, that there be many fresh flourishing wits in Germany, and many well-learned men,^{oo} who are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the apostolical provisions, dignities and promotions are bestowed upon tapsters and dancers, and unfit persons; we will, therefore, that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, we, of our own voluntary motion, may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's glory, and against the health and edification of souls, that benefices and dignities of the church have now so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

As touching the subsidy for the Hungarians, we send no other information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that every one may help after his ability.¹

These popish suggestions and instructions of the pope himself against Luther, I thought, christian reader! to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayest see here (as in a pattern, and go no further) all the crimes, objections, exclamations, suspicions, accusations, slanders, offenses, contumelies, rebukes, untruths, cavillations, railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise, against Luther and his teaching. They cry, 'Heresy, heresy!' but they prove no heresy. They cry, 'Councils, councils!' and yet none transgress councils more than themselves. If councils go always with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them: if councils do jar sometimes from the Scripture, what heresy is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, save only the council of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no just cause where-

Luther
cried out
of, with-
out any
just
cause.

(mm) You proceed so by little and little, that nothing at all is seen. Sudden mutations be not for the pope's purpose; but the Lord promiseth to come suddenly, when he is not looked for.

(nn) 'Rota' is some office in the court or chancery of Rome.

(oo) The pope flattereth for advantage. And why then have you abused the church so long with these apostolical provisions, and yet do not redress the same?

(1) Ex Orth. Gratian.

fore. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they mean the liberty of flesh, they accuse him falsely; if they mean the liberty of spirit, they teach wickedly who teach contrary: and yet when they have said all, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the zeal of the church, but under that church lie their own private welfare and belly-cheer. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws, as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the pope? For probation hereof, let the pope's accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every christian realm. Briefly, turn only the names of the persons, and instead of Luther's name, place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter above prefixed shall agree upon none more aptly than upon the pope himself, and his own sectaries.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1522.

Liberty of flesh and spirit.

Turn only the names of the persons in the letter.

Now to proceed further in the process of this aforesaid matter, let us see what the princes again for their parts answer to these aforesaid suggestions and instructions of pope Adrian, sent unto them in the diet of Nuremberg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here followeth under-written.

The Answer of the Noble and Reverend Princes, and of the States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

The noble and renowned prince lord Ferdinand, lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with other reverend peers in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Roman empire in Nuremberg convened, have gratefully received, and diligently perused, the letters sent in form of a brief, with the instructions also of that most holy father in Christ and lord, lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy and universal church of Rome, presented unto them in the cause of Luther's faction. By which aforesaid letters and writings whereas, first, they understand his holiness to have been born, and to have had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious virtues and ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the high top of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and the perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and incolumity of the universal church, that God will give his holiness long continuance of felicity: having no misdoubt but that by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying for the health of the flock to him committed; and especially in converting the minds of christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover what subsidy and relief his holiness hath sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, &c. All which things they, perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of christian princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the commonwealth nor of christian religion, can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

Pope Adrian a German born.

Wherefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with the other princes electors, and the orders of this present assembly, most heartily do pray, that his holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1522.

Can any
good
thing
come out
of Rome?
The pope
grieved
for the
prosper-
ing of
Luther.

Why the
princes
have not
proceeded
against
Luther.
Griev-
ances re-
ceived by
the court
of Rome.

The pope
answered
with his
own
words.

Griev-
ances of
the Ger-
mans.

hearts of christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage; whereunto both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

And whereas by the letters of his holiness, with his instruction also exhibited unto them by his legate, they understand that his holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther's sect, whereby innumerable souls committed to his charge are in danger of perdition, and therefore his holiness vehemently desireth some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes, whereby to move the German princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor's edict set forth touching the suppression of Luther: To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his holiness; and also they do lament as much for these impieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of errors, and decay of souls' health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the pope's holiness, as also to the emperor's majesty. But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now, by reading Luther's books, are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome: and therefore, if they should have proceeded with any rigour in executing the pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued: which thing of the princes and states there hath been well perceived by many arguments; for the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

Again, whereas the reverend lord legate (said they) in the name of the pope's holiness, hath been instructed to declare unto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his holiness doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his own court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same: Also, whereas his holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his letters, that he himself did always mislike that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordats of the princes, and that his holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy bishop omitteth nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor may or ought to do to his sheep? or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults, namely, seeing his holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

And thus undoubtedly both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquillity of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigning purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by

long wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath been so wasted and consumed in money, that scarcely it is able to sustain itself in private affairs, and necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less then to minister aid and succour to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. And whereas all the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt, but the pope's holiness doth right well understand how the German princes did grant and condescend for the money of Annates¹ to be levied to the see of Rome for term of certain years, upon condition that the said money should be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholic faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired long since, when the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted; therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public helps or contributions against the Turk should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that money of Annates, reserved many years before to that use, now to be bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burdens for that cause to be laid upon them.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1522.

Annates falsely pretended by the pope to maintain war against the Turk.

Wherefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope's holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates, as are accustomed after the death of bishops and other prelates, or ecclesiastical persons, to be paid to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the chamber of the empire, whereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquillity of the public state of Germany maintained; and also, by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other christian potentates in Germany, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

Item, Whereas the pope's holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans: to this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, is far out of frame, and hath so much corrupted its ways; and seeing not only by Luther's part, and by his sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; very requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual remedy be provided, as well for redress of the church, as also for repressing the Turk's tyranny. Now what more present or effectual remedy can be had, the lord lieutenant, and other estates and princes do not see, than this, that the pope's holiness, by the consent of the emperor's majesty, do summon a free christian council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasbourg, or at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz? and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the congregating of the said council be not deferred above one year: in which council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the meantime, until the council be set, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble duke Frederic, the said lord lieutenant and other states of the empire shall so labour the matter with the aforesaid prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his christian piety, and obedience to the Roman empire, as becometh a prince of such excellent virtue, will effectually condescend to the same.

General council in Germany required

Writing and printing for a time suspended.

(1) Annates is a certain portion of money wont to be paid to the court of Rome, out of the one year's fruits, at the vacation of an ecclesiastical living.

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1522.

The
office of
preach-
ing tem-
pered.

Item, That the said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matters, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture; being approved and received of Christ's church, abstaining from all such things as are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention or disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the council to come.

Preach-
ers lim-
ited with-
in certain
bounds.

Item, The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their dioceses, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, who shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers: and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort that no man shall justly complain the truth of the gospel to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Against
telling
and
printing
of famous
libels.

Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be printed, especially none of these famous libels,¹ neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or print any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus, by these means, they hope well, that the tumults, errors, and offences among the people, shall cease; especially if the pope's holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the aforesaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and christian council as hath been said; and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted; for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that general council, so shortly, and now ready at hand, to come. Finally, as concerning priests who contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign censures: and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct out their public edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation, upon such transgressors to be administered.

Priests,
or re-
ligious
men, that
marry.

To conclude; the redoubted prince, the lord lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the public empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the pope's holiness, and the reverend lord his legate will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good, free, sincere, and a christian mind: neither is there any thing that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy catholic church of Rome, and of his holiness; to whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most readily and obsequiously, as faithful children.²

Thus hast thou, loving reader! the full discourse both of the pope's

(1) 'Famous libels' be such books as rail against the fame of any person, showing no name of the author thereof.

(2) Ex Orthuin. Grat. [vol. i. p. 316, in his 'Fasciculus rerum expetend. et fugiendarum.' Edit. by Browne, Lond. 1690.—Ed.]

letter, and of his legate's instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions to them exhibited in the diet of Nuremberg: in which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation were taken, first touching the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a general council to be called in Germany, also for printing, preaching, and for priests' marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.¹

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1522.

The occasion of this matter, moved against priests' marriage, came first by the ministers of Strasburg, who about this time began to take wives, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of priesthood, and the majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city; who, being suitors for them unto the bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Ministers of Strasburg troubled for their wives.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg, how their decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. Luther, writing his letters upon the same decree to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure gospel, after the doctrine of the church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, or Scotus, or such other late school writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Austin, and other ancient doctors; and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no further to be received, but as it should agree with the Scripture.

Luther expoundeth the decree of Nuremberg.

Secondly, As concerning new books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible, and books of the holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

And for the prohibition of priests' marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to bear with the weakness of men; declaring that branch of their decree to be very hard, which though it standeth with the pope's law, yet it accordeth not with the gospel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honesty of life, &c.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of a hundred, and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all; yet to give some taste of a few, I judge it not unprofitable, to the intent that the world may see and judge, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the holy church of Rome, but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon Master Luther and others; when in all the universal church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by these heinous complaints of the German princes, here following, against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. These grievances being collected by the princes of Germany at

A hundred grievances of the Germans against the pope.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleidano.

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1522.*

Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred,¹ I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious reader, whereby might appear the subtle sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretended church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taste, whereby thou mayest more easily conceive, what to think and esteem of all the residue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

See Appendix.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES OR OPPRESSIONS OF GERMANY, AGAINST THE COURT OF ROME, COLLECTED AND EXHIBITED BY THE PRINCES, AT THE COUNCIL OF NUREMBERG, TO THE NUMBER OF A HUNDRED, WHEREOF CERTAIN SPECIALTIES HERE FOLLOW.

Forbidding of Marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by God's Law.

Amongst other burdens and grievances, this is not least to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by men's constitutions, and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of matrimony invented and brought in, whereby men are forbid to marry in cases of kindred, which stand upon divers degrees: as upon affinity, public honesty, spiritual kindred, kindred by law, and kindred in blood, &c.

Forbidding of Meats, not forbidden by God's Law.

And likewise in forbidding the use of meats, which God hath created for man's necessity, and taught by the apostle indifferently to be received with thanksgiving. By these, and many other human constitutions, men are yoked in bondage, until, by money they obtain some dispensation of those laws, at their hands who made them; so that money shall make that lawful for rich men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By these snares of men's laws and constitutions, not only great sums of money are gathered out of Germany, and carried over the Alps, but also great iniquity is sprung up among Christians; many offences and privy hatreds do arise by reason that poor men do see themselves entangled with these snares for no other cause, but for that they do not possess the thorns of the gospel; for so Christ doth often call riches.

Of Times of Marriage restrained, and afterwards released for Money.

The like practice also is to be seen in the times restrained from marriage, by the heads of the church of Rome, from the Septuagesima Sunday, somewhat before Lent; when, notwithstanding, both the clergy and the seculars in the meantime will live licentiously, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man shall presume so to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwise, if there be any hope of money, then that which was before unlawful, is now made lawful, for every man to do freely. And this is also another drawing net, whereby great sums of money are dragged out of the Germans' purses. Whereupon also hangeth another grievance as great as this; that in suing out a dispensation, the state of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: for where the rich escapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor man shall be sure to pay for the shot.

(1) The first edition of the "*Centum grav. natio. Germanicæ*" was published in 4to. at Nuremberg, 1523: See Panzer's *Annales Typographici*. It is inserted also in Browne's *Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiendarum*, tom. i. p. 344, Lond. 1690; and in Le Plat's *Monumentorum ad hist. Concilii Tridentini illustrand. collectio*. Leydan, 1781.—Ed.

Complaint for selling Remission of Sins for Money.

*Henry
VIII.**A. D.
1522.*

But especially the burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons be most importable: when the bishops of Rome, under pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turke, do make out their indulgences with their bulls; persuading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission 'a pœna et culpa,' that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead, burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion thereof, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promiseth to himself, for a little money, license and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon follow fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all mischiefs, &c.

Complaint against the Immunities of Clergymen.

Item, Whosoever he be that hath received any ecclesiastical orders, great or small, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all punishment of the secular magistrate, how great offence soever he do; neither doth he unadvisedly presume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to sin, by the principal instance of the clergy. For it hath often been seen, that whereas by the canonical laws, priests are forbidden to marry, afterwards they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastity of matrons, virgins, and of the wives, daughters, and sisters of the laymen: and through their continual instance and labour, partly with gifts and rewards, and flattering words, partly by their secret confessions (as they call them), as it hath been found by experience, they bring to pass that many virgins and matrons, who otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness. And it happeneth oftentimes, that they do detain and keep away the wives and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening them with fire and sword, that do require them again. Thus, through their raging lust, they heap and gather together innumerable mischiefs and offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, without punishment, they daily offend in robberies, murder, accusing of innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting of false coin; besides a thousand other kinds of mischiefs, contrary and against all laws both of God and man, not without great offence of others, trusting only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp unto themselves by the privilege of their canons. For when they once perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they lust without controulment, then they do not only condemn the civil magistrates, but also their bishops and superiors, whatsoever they either command or forbid them to do.

The
licen-
tiousness
of priests.

And moreover, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their mischief and wickedness, contrary to all reason and equity, it is partly forbidden the archbishops and bishops to condemn these malefactors openly, except they be first degraded, which must be done with sumptuousness and pomp: whereby it happeneth very seldom, that those anointed naughty packs do receive condign punishment. Besides that, the bishops are so bound by their chapters, that they dare not punish any person who hath taken orders, by the canonical laws, be the punishment ever so light or small; by reason whereof, the matter so falleth out, that through this unequal partiality between the laity and the clergy, great hatred, discord, and dissension are sprung and risen up. It is also not a little to be feared, that if the clergy, who are the cause of this grievance, and of other mischiefs (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate), have not like laws, equal judges, and like punishment, their offensive life will move and stir up some great tumults and sedition amongst the common people, not only against the clergy themselves, but also against the superiors and magistrates, for that they leave such notorious offences unpunished.

Wherefore necessity and justice do require, that the said prejudicial privileges of the clergy should be abrogated and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, that the clergy, of what order or degree soever they be, shall have like laws, like judgment, and punishment, as the laity have: so that they shall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than

Henry

VII.

A. D.

1522.

Priests
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the laymen; but that every one of the clergy offending, under the judge where the offence is committed, shall be punished for his fact, according to the measure and quality of his offence, in such like manner as other malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common laws of the empire. This thing, without doubt, will please the true ministers of the church, such as are honest and learned, and they will not think their power and authority thereby in any case diminished. By this means it shall be brought to pass, that such as are of the clergy only by name, and otherwise naughty wicked men, through the obedience due unto their magistrates, shall be compelled to live more honestly; and all sedition and privy hatred between them and the laity shall be put away; and finally, thereby the laity shall be more moved and stirred to love and reverence such of the clergy as be of a sound life.

Complaint of Excommunication being abused in the Church of Rome.

Item, at Rome and in other places many Christians are excommunicated by the archbishops, bishops, or by their ecclesiastical judges, for profane causes, through the desire and covetousness of money and lucre. The consciences of men, who are weak in faith, thereby are burdened and brought unto desperation. And finally, for money and lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the destruction both of body and soul, contrary to the law both of God and man; forasmuch as no man ought to be excommunicated but only for heresy, or for some heinous fact perpetrated; ~~nor~~ to be counted as separate from the christian catholic church, as the Scriptures do witness. Therefore the princes, nobles, states, and laity of the sacred empire, desire and require the pope's holiness, that as a faithful Christian and loving father, he will remove the said burden of excommunication, used both in the see of Rome, and also in the sees of all other archbishops and ecclesiastical judges; and finally decree, that no man shall hereafter be excommunicated, but only for a manifest convicted crime of heresy; for it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Christians, for every light offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obstinacy of heresy, or some great enormity, should be excluded from Almighty God, and the catholic congregation.

Complaint that the Church is burdened with a number of Holidays, which ought to be diminished.

Moreover, the common people are not a little oppressed with the great number of holidays, for that there are now so many holidays, that the husbandmen have scarcely time to gather the fruits of the earth, which they have brought forth with so great labour and travail, being often in danger of hail, rain, and other storms; which fruits notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many holidays, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides that, upon these holidays innumerable offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worshipped: which thing is so manifest, that it needeth no witness. For that cause the estates of the sacred empire think it best and most profitable for the christian commonwealth, that this great number of holidays should be diminished; which ought rather to be celebrated in spirit and verity, than with the external worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sin.

The Suspending and Hallowing of Church-yards complained of, as gainful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

Furthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a church-yard, only with their fists, or by the hair, though there be ever so little bloodshed, by and by the clergy have recourse to interdictment, and do not suffer any more christian burials there to be done, before that all the citizens, with great pomp and expenses, do cause it to be consecrated and hallowed again, with no less charge than when, at the first, of a profane place it was hallowed for burial: all which things do redound to the charges and costs of the laity. And though the churches or chapels be ever so little which are so hallowed, yet the suffragans do burden and oppress the simple poor householders, be they

ever so bare or needy, with superfluous expenses, and require moreover gifts of the people, which it is not for their ease to give.

Also the suffragans have invented, that no others but only themselves may baptize bells for the lay-people; whereby the simple people, upon the affirmation of the suffragans, do believe, that such bells so baptized will drive away evil spirits and tempests. Thereupon a great number of godfathers are appointed, especially such as are rich, who, at the time of baptizing, holding the rope wherewithal the bell is tied, the suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptizing of young children, they altogether do answer, and give the name to the bell; the bell having a new garment put upon it, as is accustomed to be done unto the Christians. After this they go unto sumptuous banquets, whereunto also the gossips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward; and the suffragans, with their chaplains and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the suffragan also must have a reward, which they do call a small gift or present; whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in small villages a hundred florins are consumed and spent in such christenings: which is not only superstitious, but also contrary unto christian religion, a seducing of the simple people, and mere extortion. Notwithstanding, the bishops, to enrich their suffragans, do suffer these things, and others far worse. Wherefore such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1522.

Baptizing of bells.

Bells wear coats.

Spoiling of the people by baptizing of bells.

Complaint against Officials, and other Ecclesiastical Judges.

The officials also of archbishops for the most part are unlearned and unable men; besides that, men of evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but for money. Also how corruptly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and transgressions, it is daily seen; whereby the laity, whom they ought to correct and punish for their offences, and instruct in christian godliness, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Besides this, the laity are miserably robbed and spoiled of their goods by these light and vile officials, in whose consciences there is no spark of christian piety and godliness, but only a wicked desire and covetousness; which thing the archbishops and bishops, if they were indeed such as they are called, that is to say, the pastors and shepherds of Christ, without doubt they would no longer suffer or commit Christ's flock to such wicked and offensive pastors to be fed and nourished.

Complaint how the Ecclesiastical Judges do annex certain Special Causes, being Lay Matters, unto their own Jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same, except for Money.

Whensoever any causes are pleaded in judgment before an ecclesiastical judge, either for defiling of virgins, or for children unlawfully born out of wedlock, or for servants' wages, or any other matters concerning widows, the ecclesiastical judges being called upon by the superiors of the laity who do contend, they will neither defer that judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary jurisdiction.

A Complaint of the Gain that ariseth to the Clergy by false Slanders and Rumours.

It happeneth oftentimes that men and women, through sinister and false reports and slanders, are brought before the official or ecclesiastical judge, as men guilty, and shall not be declared innocent before they have cleared themselves by an oath; which purgation so made, they are restored again to their former estimation. And albeit that the damages and costs ought to be repaid again unto such as be so falsely accused, yet notwithstanding, the innocents themselves are forced to pay two guilders and a quarter, for their letters of absolution. And this is the cause why the officials and other ecclesiastical judges do so greedily follow the action of such unlawful, false, and slanderous accusa-

Scolding matters brought to the spiritual court for gain and lucre.

(1) This question; whether these gossips that christen bells may marry together by the canon law?

*Henry
VIII.*

*A. D.
1522.*

tions, challenging the hearing thereof only unto themselves; which thing, no doubt, redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all men: for oftentimes it happeneth that women, falling together into contention, through anger, hatred, or some other affection, do speak evil or slander one another, and outrage so much, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of adultery or witchery. Which thing being brought before the official, she, who through her anger had so slandered the other, is forced by an oath to excuse and purge herself, that whatsoever injurious or slanderous word she had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like manner the other, who is accused either of adultery or sorcery, is commanded by an oath to declare her innocency, that she is not guilty of those facts. So that it is evident unto all men, that in such cases, whether they be guilty or not guilty, they must swear, if they will keep their good name and fame. Whereby not only the unlawful luere of gain and money is sought, but also wilful perjury forced, and the secular power and judges letted from the punishment thereof, so that, contrary to all reason, offences do remain unpunished.

Complaint against Spiritual Judges taking Secular Causes from the Civil Magistrate, for gain of Money.

Albeit there be many causes so indifferent to both jurisdictions, that they may be pleaded and punished as well by the civil magistrate as ecclesiastical judge, notwithstanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when the civil magistrates would exercise their office and jurisdiction in this behalf, they are forbidden and letted by the ecclesiastical judges, under pain of excommunication. Which thing if it should long continue and be suffered, the ecclesiastical judges would shortly take away all manner of causes from the civil magistrate, and his jurisdiction; which is intolerable, and derogatory both unto the emperor's majesty, and other states of the empire. And albeit that by the common laws manifest perjuries, adulteries, witchcrafts, and such other like, may indifferently be punished by ecclesiastical or civil judges for the time being, so that prevention in this behalf taketh place; notwithstanding, the ecclesiastical judges go about to usurp unto themselves and their jurisdiction all such manner of causes: which burden and grievance the civil jurisdiction and power ought not to suffer.

Complaint against Ecclesiastical Judges intermeddling with Cases of the Secular Court, but who will not suffer their Cases to be once touched of the others.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical judges say, that in such case it is lawful for them to take profane matters into their hands, if the civil magistrate be found negligent in executing of justice: but contrariwise, they will not suffer that the like order should be kept with them, neither will they permit that in ecclesiastical matters any man may complain unto the civil magistrate for lack of justice, and require the administration of justice at his hand. Albeit they do define all laws generally common, and determine how the canon laws may help and assist the civil, and contrariwise the civil laws the canon.

Complaint against certain Misorders of Cathedral Churches, for using double Punishment for one Offence against the Law.

Forasmuch as it is forbidden both by God's law and man's, that any man should be beaten with two rods, that is to say, be punished by two kinds of torments; worthily therefore do all wise men detest and abhor the odious statutes of divers cathedral churches, whereby murderers, both men and women, and other as well light as grievous offenders, have been hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath been accustomed, that such as were guilty of murder, and such other crimes (which they call cases reserved unto the bishops), after they had made their auricular confession, were compelled (to their great ignominy and shame) to do penance in the sight of all the people; which penance were not so much to be disallowed, bearing some semblance of the

institution of the primitive church, if so be these busy officials (being contented therewith) would not extort more and greater sums of money than were right and lawful, and so punish those offenders with double punishment; wherewithal it is to be marvelled how many be offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Christ's institution, we will refer it to every good conscience to judge.

*Henry
VIII.*

*A D.
1522.*

Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.

Furthermore, the officials, being allured through the greedy and insatiable desire of money, do not only not forbid unlawful usuries and gains of money, but also suffer and maintain the same. Moreover they, taking a yearly stipend and pension, do suffer the clergy and other religious persons unlawfully to dwell with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Both which things how great peril, offence, and detriment they do bring both unto body and soul, every man may plainly see (so that it need not be rehearsed), except he will make himself as blind as a mole.

Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabiting with another, when the Husband or Wife is long absent.

Furthermore, where it so happeneth (as it doth oftentimes), that either the good man, or the good wife, by means of war, or some other vow, hath taken in hand some long journey, and so tarrieth longer than serveth the appetite of the other, the official, taking a reward of the other, giveth license to the party to dwell with any other person, not having first regard, or making inquisition whether the husband or wife, being absent, be in health or dead. And because these their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a toleration or sufferance; not without great offence to all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedral Churches, who have their Bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

This is also unlawful and plainly wicked, that the canons of cathedral churches, in whose hand the principal part of ecclesiastical judgments, synods, and censures do consist, and the canons of other collegiate churches, who have power and authority to choose their superior and bishop, will choose none to their bishop, except he bind himself first with an oath, and plainly swear, yea, and oftentimes is bound, by bond and instruments sealed with their seals, to them and their ecclesiastical judges, that in no matter, be it ever so grievous, intolerable, or dishonest, he shall be against them: and if it happen at any time that they do offend, they may do it also without punishment for him.

Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations, and other pillaging of the People by Churchmen.

Many parish churches are subject unto monasteries, and to the parsons of other churches, by means of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwise, which they are bound also, according to the canon laws, to foresee and look unto by themselves; whereas they do put them forth unto others to be governed, reserving for the most part unto themselves the whole stipend of the benefices and tithes; and moreover, aggravate and charge the same with so great pensions, that the hiring priests, and other ministers of the church, cannot have thereupon a decent or competent living. Whereby it cometh to pass, that these hiring priests (for that they must needs have whereupon to live) do with unlawful exactions miserably spoil and devour the poor sheep committed unto them, and consume all their substance. For when the sacraments of the altar and of baptism are to be administered, or when the first, the seventh, the thirtieth, and the year-day must be kept; when auricular confession cometh to be heard, the dead to be buried, or any other ceremony whatsoever about the funeral is to be done, they will not do it freely, but extort and exact so much

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1524.

money as the miserable commonalty is scarce able to disburse : and daily they do increase and augment these their exactions, driving the simple poverty to the payment thereof, by threatening them with excommunication, or by other ways compelling them to be at charge, who otherwise, through poverty, are not able to maintain obsequies, year-minds, and such other like ceremonies, as to the funerals of the dead be appertaining.

Buying and Selling of Burials complained of.

It is ordained by the pope's canons, that burial in the church should be denied only unto those who being known to be manifest and notorious offenders, have departed this life without receiving the sacrament. But the clergy, not regarding those decrees, will not suffer such as by chance are drowned, killed, slain with falls or fire, or otherwise by chance have ended their lives (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly sin), to be buried in the churches, until such time as the wives, children, or friends of those men so dead, do with great sums of money purchase and buy the burial of them in the church-yard.

Chaste and continent Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Also in many places the bishops and their officials do not only suffer priests to have concubines, so that they pay certain sums of money, but also compel continent and chaste priests, who live without concubines, to pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop hath need of money : which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or keep concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well understand and know.

These, with many other burdens and grievances besides, to the number of a hundred, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate ; having (as they said) many more and more grievous grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress : but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity ; steadfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the others would also decay and fall with them. Of these aforesaid grievances and complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the emperor at the council of Worms ; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the secular states of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus, the pope's legate in this present assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to pope Adrian. This was about A.D. 1523 ; which being done, the assembly of Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

The diet
of Nu-
remberg
began
A.D. 1522,
and
broke up
A.D. 1523.

Death of
pope
Adrian.
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The pope
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In this mean time pope Adrian died. After him succeeded pope Clement VII., who, the next year following, which was A.D. 1524, sent down his legate, cardinal Campeius, unto the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the month of March, with letters also to duke Frederic, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, either by Campeius, or by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against Luther, either for oppression of the liberty of the gospel, or

for upholding of the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes: but where any redress was to be required for the public wealth of christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the pope neither giveth ear nor answer.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1524.

And thus, having discoursed such matters occurrent between the pope and princes of Germany at the synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict above mentioned. In the mean time, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples, besides other things more. For this cause Luther, returning again into the city, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught that we are saved before God, and please him only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he said), as though he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.¹

Carolo-
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down
images in
Witten-
berg.
Luther
misliketh
this.

Furthermore Luther, writing of Carolostadt, affirmeth, that he also joined with the sentence of those, who began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause why Luther so stood against that violent throwing down of images, and against Carolostadt, seemeth partly to rise of this, by reason that pope Adrian, in his letters sent to the princes and states of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the sect of Luther for sedition and tumults, and rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the pope's letter before expressed: therefore Martin Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was enforced to take this way as he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Why
Luther
permitted
images to
stand.

Herein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther, especially for all such who in these our days now, abusing the name and authority of Luther, think themselves to be good Lutherans, if they suffer images still to remain in temples, and admit such things in the church, as themselves do wish to be away. The first is, the manner how and after what sort Luther did suffer such images to stand: for although he assented not, that the vulgar and private multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the

Two
things
to be
noted.

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1521.

magistrate to let them stand. And though he allowed not the ministers to stir up the people by forcible means to promote religion; yet that argueth not those magistrates to be good Lutherans, who may and should remove them, and will not.

The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why Luther did so stand with standing of images; which cause was time, and not his own judgment: for albeit in judgment he wished them away, yet time so served not thereunto then, as it serveth now: for then the doctrine of Luther, first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the pope, hearing of the doings of Carolstadt in Wittenberg, and of others like, took his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther (compelled then by necessity of time to save his doctrine from the slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the pope, as ye have heard) was so much offended with Carolstadt and others, for their violence used against images. For otherwise, had it not been for the pope's accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of images, and other monuments of popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the friars Augustine for abrogating of private masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered; such or the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present age now; who, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do weigh the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of king Alexander the Great, who thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem, after my mind, sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the kingdom of Christ, though they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.¹

Kαὶ οὕτως
ἐκείναι
Luther-
ans of
this age.
How Lu-
ther is to
be fol-
lowed.

(1) A Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, in his "Letters to a Prebendary" (seventh edition, London, 1825, pp. 113—118), has favoured us with a series of the coarsest expressions which can be selected from the writings of Luther, to deduce from them that Luther's morality was prostrated, that his sentiments were depraved, and that his motives and actions were the result of pride, bigotry, and ambition. Dr. Milner closes his observations with these words, "There are other passages, in great numbers, too indecent to admit of being translated at all; indeed I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin." This learned doctor of the popish church shrinks, with wonted modesty, from his own translation of Luther's addresses to his royal antagonist Henry VIII.; but how would his delicacy have been offended had he heard Mr. John Clark, the king's orator, before the Consistory of Leo X. (in presenting his master's book to that spiritual head of the church), break out into such epithets as these which follow; unless, indeed, they were deemed excusable, as spoken of "an execrable, venomous, and pernicious heretic." [See page I of Henry's own book, entitled "Assertio septem sacramentorum. Faithfully translated, &c. by T. W. gent. London, 1688."] The orator denounces Luther as "this furious monster," with "his stings and poisons, whereby he intends to infect the whole world." Or again, "What so hot and inflamed force of speaking can be invented sufficient to declare the crime of that most filthy villain?" [see page 2.] Or, in reading forward, how would his ear have been jarred with the expressions, "idol and vain phantom," "a mad dog, to be dealt with with drawn swords," and "a viper's madness!" How startling to hear three times repeated from the mouth of the most holy father pope Leo, the title of "terrible monster;" or to hear him, the head of a church that professes to be no persecutor of Protestants (because she persecutes all heretics alike), speak in definite terms of "driving away from our Lord's flock the wolves; and cutting off, with the *material sword*, the rotten members that infect the mystical body of Christ;" [see the pope's bull to king Henry]. And, lastly, how would the tender feelings of Dr. Milner have been wounded had he read king Henry's own words, in his "Address to the Reader," ammadverting upon Luther as "one risen up, who, by the instigation of the devil, under

And contrariwise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, who running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of Luther, and fall almost into utter contempt of his books: whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiousness of these our days, as the hinderance that cometh thereby to the church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in matters of doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith are to be opened to our conscience; and where the soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other variety of writers, what St. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian, "*Da magistrum*;" "Give me my master." And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius, in this one matter of the sacrament; yet in all other states of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the synod holden at Marburg, by prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, which was A. D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and, conferring together, agreed in these articles:

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1529.

Not to be contemned for one little blemish.

Comendation of his doctrine. Example of St. Cyprian in reading Tertullian.

1. In the Unity and Trinity of God. 2. In the incarnation of the Word. 3. In the passion and resurrection of Christ. 4. In the article of original sin. 5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus. 6. That this faith cometh not of merits, but by the gift of God. 7. That this faith is our righteousness. 8. Touching the extern word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the articles of baptism. 10. Of good works. 11. Of confession. 12. Of magistrates. 13. Of men's traditions. 14. Of baptism of infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; this they did believe, and hold: first, that both kinds thereof are to be ministered to the people, according to Christ's institution; and that the mass is no such work for which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Item, that the sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is necessary for every christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Ghost, &c.¹

Consent between Luther and Zuinglius in doctrine.

pretext of charity, stimulated with anger and hatred, spues out the poison of vipers against the church!" Again, how inconsistent with the meekness of Christianity, for the Defender of the Faith to speak thus of Luther: "Oh, that detestable trumpeter of pride, calumnies, and schisms! what an infernal wolf, &c., what a great member of the devil is he!" &c. Every christian mind must deeply regret the coarse and vulgar expressions used by the orator, the pope, the king, and Luther, in common with other writers of that age: that such should have been the expressions of Luther is deeply to be lamented, as the life and conversation of Christians should be characteristic of the religion which they profess: at the same time it will be perceived, that Luther was the more readily betrayed into errors of this kind in consequence of the bold and uncompromising character of his mind, a quality as much to be admired by every protestant, as it was dreaded by the papists: they could not refute his arguments, founded upon Scripture; they dared not injure his person, beloved and esteemed by the people. That the tender mercies of the Romish church would not have spared Luther, unless secured from danger by a more powerful arm, we may gather from John Clark's oration to the pope, on presenting to the pontiff king Henry's book; who, speaking of the poisoning of Socrates, adds these words respecting Luther: "Could this destroyer of the christian religion expect any better from *true Christians*, for his extreme wickedness against God?" And again, king Henry VIII. in his "Address to the Reader," speaking of Luther's repentance, adds, "If Luther refuses this, it will shortly come to pass, if christian princes do their duty, that their errors, and *himself*, if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire."

Whatever may have been the errors of Luther, they teach us this truth; that weak and unstable must be that proud and boasting church, which shook from its base to its summit, as Luther divulged and propagated his scriptural, and alas, in those days, "strange" doctrines. The success which crowned the labours of this "puny brother" (as king Henry calls him in the last sentence of his book), we must ascribe to the honour of God and the glory of his grace, who hath "chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and who hath chosen base things of the world, and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."—Ed.

(1) Ex Paral. Abbat. Ursperg.

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1529.

They agree in the presence, only in the manner of the presence they differ.

How they dissent in doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Lutherans, and Sacramentaries.

Lutherans and Zuinglians differ more in charity than in doctrine.

In all these sums of doctrine above recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses do behold and feel? they will both confess bread, and not the accidents only of bread. Further, if the question be asked, whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there; only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also that the communion is to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

Their only difference is this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," "*This is my body*," &c., which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Johannes Œcolampadius, and others, do interpret these words otherwise; as not to be taken literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, "*This is my body*," is thus to be expounded: "*This signifieth my body and blood*."¹ With Luther consented the Saxons; with the side of Zuinglius, went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther realms and countries: the one part being called, of Luther, Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries do accord and agree, that the bread and wine there present are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ (as it is said), but are a true sacrament of the body and blood.²

But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians. In which division, if there have been any defect in Martin Luther, yet is that no cause why either the papists may greatly triumph, or why the protestants should despise Luther: for neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made (as some have gone about to do), yet let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us bear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ more in charity (as Bucer said) than we do in doctrine. But of this more hereafter (Christ willing), when we come to the history of John Frith.

Those who write the lives of saints use to describe and extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin

(1) Ex Johan. Steid. lib. v [p. 367, ed. FrœmR. 1753.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursip.

Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred of almost the whole world being set against him; and to work that against the said pope, cardinals, and church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do, yea, durst ever attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing the great Goliath. Wherefore if miracles do make a saint (after the pope's definition), what lacketh in Martin Luther, but age and time only, to make him a saint? who, standing openly against the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who, teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the pope was a great miracle; to prevail against the pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, especially having so many enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1529.

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the pope by a poor friar.

Martin Luther miraculously preserved.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had alighted upon him.

And what should I speak of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon writeth), those who stood under his window where he stood praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the pope should not prevail in his country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

Vehe- ment and mighty in prayer.

And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by a way of sorcery to bargain with the devil, or a familiar, as they call him; to yield himself body and soul into the devil's power, upon condition to have his wish satisfied with money. So that upon the same an obligation was made by the young man, written with his own blood, and given to the devil. This case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable. Now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young man, the matter first being noted, began afterwards more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto Martin

A miraculous work of the Lord, in delivering a young man out of the devil's danger by christian prayer.

*Henry VIII.**A.D. 1516.*

Luther to be examined. The young man, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confess, and would disclose nothing; yet God so wrought, being stronger than the devil, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the devil was compelled at last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it again unto him: which narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle, in Christ's church, that was since the apostles' time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they who heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and he demanded how that could be; "Mine own manifold temptations," said he, "and experiences are the cause thereof." For this thou must understand, good reader! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts, as Melanethon in describing his life doth testify. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.¹

Luther
never in
all his life
tempted
with
covetous-
ness.

How
long
he lived
and
taught.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who, living to the year of his age sixty-three, continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melanethon be these:

*See
Appendix.*

* An Intimation given by Philip Melanethon to his Auditory at Wittenberg, of the Decease of Martin Luther,² A.D. 1546.

To the scholars assembled to hear the lecture of the Epistle to the Romans, Philip Melanethon recited publicly, this that followeth, at nine of the clock before noon; advertising he gave this information, by the counsel of other lords, for that the auditors, understanding the express truth (forasmuch as the lords knew certainly, fame would blow slanderous blasts every where of the death of Luther), should not credit flying tales and false reports.

'My friends, ye know that we have enterprised to expound grammatically the Epistle to the Romans, in which is contained the true doctrine of the Son of God, which our Lord, by his singular grace, hath revealed unto us at this present by the reverend father, and our dearly beloved master, Martin Luther. Notwithstanding we have received heavy news, which has so augmented my dolor, that I am in doubt if I may continue henceforth in scholastical profession, and exercise of teaching. The cause wherefore I commemorate this thing is, for that I am so advised by other lords, that ye may understand the true sequel of things, lest yourselves blaze abroad vain tales of this fatal chance, or give credit to other fables, which commonly are accustomed to be spread every where.*'

Wednesday last past, and the 17th of February, Dr. Martin Luther sickened a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach, whereof I remember I have

(1) Ex Phil. Melaneth. in orat. funebri Ex Hieron Wellerus.

(2) Edition 1563 p. 415.—Ed

seen him oft diseased in this place. This sickness took him after supper, with which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber; and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose his children's schoolmaster, to make a fire in another chamber; into which when he was newly entered, Albert earl of Mansfeld, with his wife, and divers others (whose names in these letters for haste are not expressed), at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the 18th of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer:

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1546.

Sickness
of Luther.
His quiet
death.

‘My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God! thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, I have taught him, I have known him; I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to thee.’

The
prayer
of Luther
at his
death.

After this he said as ensueth, thrice:

‘I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of Truth!’ ‘God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting.’ [John iii.]

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called¹ to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: *Elias,² the conductor and chariot of Israel, is dead, who hath governed the church in this last age of the world; for, the doctrine of remission of sins, and of the faith of God, hath not been comprehended by human wisdom, but God hath manifested the same by this holy man whom we have seen raised up of God.* Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught; let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this mishap and doleful chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God! crucified for us, and resuscitate Emmanuel, govern, conserve, and defend thy church.

See
Appendix.

A Prayer after the manner of Luther.

*Let³ us render thanks unto God, the Eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased, by the ministry of this godly Luther, to purify the evangelical fountains from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: which thing we remembering, ought to join our lamentable petitions, with zealous affection beseeching God to confirm what he hath begun in us, for his holy name's sake. This is thy voice and promise, O living and just God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church! ‘I will have compassion on you, for my name's sake. I will do it for myself, yea even for myself, that I be not blasphemed.’ I beseech thee with ardent affection, that for thy glory, and the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thyself in the voice of thy gospel, among us, one perpetual church, and that for the dear love of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, our mediator and intercessor, thou wilt govern us by thy Holy Ghost; that we unfeignedly may call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, govern and conserve the policies and discipline of the same, which be the nurses of thy church and schools. And since thou hast created mankind to acknowledge and to invoke thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thyself by many clear testimonies, permit not this small number and selected flock (that profess thy sacred word), to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Son Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed in this manner for us: ‘Father, sanctify them in verity, thy word is verity.’ Our prayers we join with the prayer of this our holy Priest, making our petition with Him, that thy doctrine may shine among men, and that we may be directed by the same.

Luther
hath
purged
the
fountain.

We heard Luther evermore pray in this wise, and so praying, his

(1) “Unto the eternal school, and perpetual joys.” Edition 1563, p. 416.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 416.—Ed.

(3) For the following passage in asterisks, see Edition 1563, p. 407.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.**A. D.
1524.*The sum
of all
that
Luther
taught.

innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corpse when he had lived almost sixty-three years.

Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godliness. He wrote certain learned works, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for men, informing the sincere minds to repentance, and to declare the fruits of the same, the use of the sacraments, the difference betwixt the gospel and philosophy, the dignity of politic order; and, finally, the principal articles of doctrine profitable to the church. He composed certain works to reprove, wherein he refuteth divers pernicious errors. He also devised books of interpretation, in which he wrote many narrations and expositions of the prophets and apostles, and in this kind his very enemies confess, he excelleth all others whose works are imprinted and published abroad. Then all Christians and godly minds! conceive what praise he deserved; but certainly his exposition of the Old and New Testament, in utility and labour, is equivalent to all his works; for in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may serve instead of a commentary, though it be read in the German tongue. And yet this is not a naked exposition, but it containeth very learned annotations and arguments on every part; which both set forth the sum of heavenly doctrine, and instruct the reader in the sacred phrase and manner of speaking in the Scriptures, that the godly minds may receive firm testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very fountains. His mind was not to keep us occupied in his works; but to guide our spirits to the very springs. His will was, we should hear God speak, and that by his Word true faith and invocation might be kindled in our minds, that God might be sincerely honoured and adored, and that many might be made inheritors of everlasting life.

It becometh us thankfully to accept his good will and great labours, and to imitate the same as our patron, and by him to learn to adorn the church, according to our power. For we must refer all our life, enterprises, and deliberations, to two principal ends: First, to illustrate the glory of God; Secondly, to profit the church. As touching the first, St. Paul saith: "Do all things to the glory of God." And of the second, it is said in Psalm cxxii. "Pray that Jerusalem may prosper." And there followeth a singular promise added in this versicle: "Such as love the church, shall prosper and have good success." Let these heavenly commandments and divine instructions allure all men to learn the true doctrine of the church, to love the faithful ministers of the gospel and the true teachers; and to employ their whole study and diligence to augment the true doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true church.*

Death of
duke
Frederic.
See
Appendix.

Frederic prince-elector died long before Luther, A. D. 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married; wherefore after him succeeded John Frederic duke of Saxony.

Mention was made a little before of the ministers of Strasburg, who, because of their marriage, were in trouble, and cited by the bishop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the city of Strasburg; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the bishop and the city, that the bishop

should execute no judgment upon any, but under some of the magistrates of the said city of Strasburg. Whereupon the senate and the citizens, taking into their hands the cause of these married ministers, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote, as is said, to their bishop of Strasburg, and caused the judgment thereof a while to be stayed; by reason whereof the matter was brought at length before cardinal Campeius, legate, sent by pope Clement to the assembly of Nuremberg, A. D. 1524.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1521.

Disception about married ministers.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murner, a Franciscan friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the senate and city of Strasburg, before the aforesaid cardinal Campeius. Wherefore the senate, to purge themselves, sent their ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation, that they neither had been nor would be any let to the bishop, but had signified to him before, by their letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married priests, consonant to the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the senate herein was not a little grieved that the bishop, contrary to the order and compact which was taken between him and them, did call the said ministers out of the liberties of their city; for so it was between them agreed, that no ecclesiastical person should be adjudged but under some judge of their own city. But now, contrary to their said agreement, the bishop called those ministers out of their liberties; and so the ministers, claiming the right and privilege of the city, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known. And now if the senate should show themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claiming the right of the city, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their franchises and liberties.

Murner, a friar, an accuser of married ministers. The senate of Strasburg purge themselves.

The bishop of Strasburg breaketh the agreement made, and the liberties of the city.

And where it is objected, that they receive priests and men of the clergy into the freedom and protection of their city: to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the city before: and moreover, that it was the bishop's own request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the cardinal again, advising well the letters of the bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the letters sent, that the ministers indeed (as the ambassadors said) were called out from the freedom and liberties of the city, and yet no order of law was broken therein; forasmuch as the bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own vicar delegate; and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the bishop in punishing the aforesaid ministers, &c.

Answer of Campeius to the ambassadors. The pope's prelates be lawless, and can break no order.

After much other talk and reasoning on both parts, wherein the ambassadors argued in defence of their freedom, that the judgment should not be transferred out of the city: among other communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the city of Strasburg were many, yea, the most part of the clergy, who lived viciously and wickedly with their women, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christ's church, and pernicious

The ambassadors' reply.

†

Henry
4. 111.

A.D.
1524.

†
Holy ma-
trimony
punished;
wicked-
ness esca-
peth.

cious example of others; and yet the bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore, if the senate (said the ambassadors) should permit the bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married ministers, for not observing the bishop of Rome's law, and leave the other notorious offenders,¹ who break the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

To this Campeius answered, What composition or bargain was betwixt the bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great trial in law of proving and confessing; and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the communion of the church, 'ipso facto.'² As for the other sort of them, who keep women,³ although (said he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the bishops of Germany, for money, to wink at priests' lemans; and the same also was evil done indeed. And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same; but yet, nevertheless, it is not sufferable that priests therefore should have wives. And if comparison should be made (said he), much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keep at home many paramours.⁴ His reason was this; for they that keep them (said he) as it is naughty which they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the others persuade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, who in rights be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry:⁵ wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the bishop in this behalf.

†
A fit rea-
son for a
cardinal;
better to
have
many
concu-
bines,
than one
wife.

The am-
bassa-
dors' re-
ply.

†

Whereunto the ambassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the one class of offenders, then might the senate assist him the better in correcting the other: but the cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their bishop, and then if the bishop would not punish the other crime,⁶ he would come thither himself and see it punished accordingly.

The diet
at Ratis-
bon.

This cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by pope Clement VII. to the second assembly or diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1524, and what was there done by the said cardinal, is before signified. After this council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbon, where were present Ferdinand, Campeius, the cardinal of Saltsburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon; also the legates of the bishops of Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basil, Friburg, Passau, and Brixen. By whom in the said assembly was concluded:

(1) 'Notorious offenders,' i. e. in orig. *Scortatores*.—*Ed.*

(2) 'Ipso facto,' that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any further judgment or trial by the law.

(3) 'Women,' i. e. in orig. *Scorta et concubinae*.—*Ed.*

(4) 'Paramour,' i. e. in orig. *Scorta*.—*Ed.*

(5) 'Touching the Greek church, this cardinal speaketh untruly.

(6) 'More notorious offenders,' i. e. in orig. *Scortum*.—*Ed.*

*Henry VIII.**A. D.*
1524.

Summary of Popish Decrees made at the Council of Ratisbon.

That forasmuch as the emperor, at the request of pope Leo, had condemned, by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the assemblies at Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of cardinal Campeius, do will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed through all their confines and precincts: that the gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient forefathers: that all they who revive any old heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed Mother, and holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict abovesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the license of his ordinary: That they who be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the laws which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the sacraments, in the mass, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they who approach to the Lord's Supper without confession and absolution, or do eat flesh on days forbidden, or who do run out of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate: That no book of Luther or of any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their jurisdiction, who study in the university of Wittenberg, shall every one repair home within three months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance: That no benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any student of that university. Item, That certain inquisitors fit for the same, be appointed to inquire and examine the premises. Item, Lest it may be said that this faction of Luther taketh its origin from the corrupt life of priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said convocation of Ratisbon, chargeth and commandeth, that priests live honestly, go in decent apparel, play not the merchants, haunt not the taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keep concubines to be removed; the number also of holy days to be diminished, &c.

These things would Campeius have had enacted in a full council, and with the consents of all the empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the pope, he was fain to get the same ratified in this particular conventicle, with the assents of these bishops above rehearsed.

Campeius misseth of his purpose in Germany.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of John Sleidan, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoin likewise touching the history of Zuinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the towns, called pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The History of the Helvetians, or Switzers.

HOW THEY FIRST RECOVERED THEIR LIBERTY, AND AFTERWARDS WERE JOINED IN LEAGUE TOGETHER.¹

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen pages.² The names of which are Tigurini,

(1) *Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmog. lib. iii. Ex Com. Johan. Sleid. lib. iii.*

(2) These thirteen pages will be better recognised under the following titles; the respective

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1307.

How the
Helveti-
as came
free, and
joined to-
gether in
league.

Tyranny
in rulers.

Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicensens, Untervaldii, Zugiani, Glare-anti, Basilienses, Solodurii, Friburgii, Scafusiani, Apeccelenses. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not conjoined together with such a full bond as the others be; which be these: Rhети, Lepontii, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these thirteen confederate pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, Urania, Suicensens, and Sylvanii, or (as some call them) Untervaldii, which joined themselves together.

If credit should be given to old narrations, these three pages or valleys¹ first suffered great servitude and thralldom under cruel rulers or governors; insomuch that the governor of Unterwalden required of one of the inhabitants a yoke of his oxen; which when the townsman denied to give him, the ruler sent his servant by force to take his oxen from him. This when the servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's son, and cutteth off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The governor, hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

Another time in the said Unterwalden, as the good-man of the house was absent abroad, the governor who had then the rule of the town, entering into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, and made other proposals to her; whereunto she being unwilling, deferred the bath as long as she might, till the return of her husband. To whom she then, making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous ruler and slew him.

Adultery
justly
punished.

Example
of singu-
lar tyrann-
y.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Schweiz and Unterwalden, who, surprised with like pride and disdain against the poor underlings, caused his cap to be hung up upon a pole, charging and commanding by his servant, all that passed by to do obeisance to his cap; which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his son to be tied, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a cross-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woeful father could not otherwise choose, being by force constrained, but must level at the apple; as God would, he missed the child, and struck the mark. This Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his son, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had struck the child with one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant: which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the ruler's house; but by the way escaping out of the boat between Uri and Brunnen, and passing through the mountains with as much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should pass, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him, A. D. 1307.

Pride and
tyranny
well
rewarded.

And thus were these cruel governors utterly expelled out of these three valleys or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the emperor Henry VII., and also by the emperor Louis V.,

cantons of Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Basle, Soleure, Friburg, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel. The other seven pages, "not conjoined together with such a full bond," are these: "Rhétus Pagus," the extreme south-east districts of Switzerland; "Lepontus Pagus," the district about the source of the Rhone; "Sedunus Pagus," the capital of which district, was 'Civitas Sedunorum,' mentioned by Caesar, and is the modern Sion; "Veragrus Pagus," constitutes the district called 'Dauphiné' before the revolution; "Sangallus Pagus," St. Gallen; "Mullusianus Pagus," Mulhausen; "Rotulensis Pagus," Rheintal.—Ed.

(1) Note that the pages in Switzerland are for the most part situate in valleys.

duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no judge should be set over them, but only of their own company, and town dwellers.¹

*Swiss
History.*

It followed after this, A. D. 1315, that great contention and war fell between Frederic duke of Austria, and Louis duke of Bavaria, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the empire. With Louis held the three pages aforesaid; who had divers conflicts with Leopold, brother to the aforementioned Frederic duke of Austria, fighting in his brother's quarrel. As Leopold had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to pass over the mountains to subdue the pages; he began to take advice of his council, by what way or passage best he might direct his journey towards the Switzers. Whereupon as they were busy in consulting, there stood a fool by, named Kunc de Stocken, who hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his bolt withal, and told them, that their counsel did not like him: "For all you," quoth he, "consult how we should enter into yonder country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered." And in conclusion, as the fool said, so they found it true. For when Leopold with his host had entered into the straits and valleys between the rocks and mountains, the Switzers, with their neighbours of Uri and Unterwalden, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage; and with tumbling down stones from the rocks, and sudden coming upon their backs in blind lanes, did so encumber them, that neither had they convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away; by reason whereof a great part of Leopold's army there, being enclosed about the place called Morgasten, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. Leopold, with them that remained, retired and escaped to Thurgau. This battle was fought A. D. 1315, the 16th of November.

A fool's
bolt some-
times hits
the mark.

After this, the burghers of these three villages, being continually vexed by Frederic duke of Austria, for that they would not know-ledge him for emperor, assembled themselves in the town of Uri, A. D. 1316; and there entered into a mutual league and bond of perpetual society and conjunction, joining and swearing themselves together, as in one body of a common-wealth and public administration. After that came to them the Lucernates; then the Zugians; after them the Zurichers; next to them followed the Bernese; the last almost of all were the Basilians: then followed after, the other seven pages above recited.

First
league
between
the three
pages.

And thus have ye the names, the freedom, and confederation of these Switzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's gospel and true religion received among the Helvetians; also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

The Acts and Life of Uldricus Zuinglius:

AND THE RECEIVING OF THE GOSPEL IN SWITZERLAND.

In the tractation of Luther's story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarus, in a place called

(1) Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib. iii.

*Swiss
History.*

A.D.
1522.

Zuinglius
reading
the Scrip-
tures at
Zurich.

A.D. 1521.

The
bishop of
Constance
complains
eth
against
him.

then our Lord's Hermitage, from thence removed to Zurich about A. D. 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the minster, among the canons or priests of that close; using with them the same rites and ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travail, and no less dexterity. And because pope Leo the same year had renewed his pardons again through all countries (as is above declared), Zuinglius zealously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the church; and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length Hugo bishop of Constance (to whose jurisdiction Zurich then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letter to the senate of the said city of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius; who also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was at the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new teachers who troubled the church; and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the pope and the emperor's majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. Zuinglius hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And forasmuch as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the bishop again, declaring that the said letter proceeded not from the bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels, for that truth (said he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted. After the same tenor certain others of the city likewise wrote unto the bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel; requiring moreover, that he would bear no longer the filthy and infamous lives of priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful wives, &c. This was A. D. 1522.

Zuinglius
writeth to
the Hel-
vetians.

Priests'
marriages

An old
use of the
Helve-
tians to
forewarn
their
priests to
take
wives.

†

Zuinglius
resisted
by adver-
saries.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whole nation of the Helvetians, admonishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to priests that were married: for as for the vow and coercion of their single life, it came (saith he) of the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said Helvetians had such a right and custom in their towns and pages, that when they received any new priest into their churches, they used to premonish him before to take his concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their wives and daughters; he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto the priests to take their wives in honest matrimony, than to live with unmarried women against the precept of God.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certain years labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to arise at this new doctrine, and divers stepped up, namely the Dominic Friars, on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the magistrates and

senate of Zurich sent forth their commandment to all priests and ministers within their dominion, to repair to the city of Zurich, against the 29th of January next ensuing (this was A.D. 1523), there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controversies of religion, what could be said; directing also their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either make his repair thither himself, or else send his deputy. When the day appointed came, the bishop's vicegerent, who was John Faber, was also present. The council first declaring the cause of this their frequency and assembly (which was for the dissension newly risen about matters of religion), required that if any there had to object or infer against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly utter and declare his mind.¹

Swiss History.

A.D. 1524.

Disputation at Zurich about religion.

John Faber Suabensis against Zuinglius.

See Appendix.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty-seven articles; which articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that those who were disposed, might resort thither the better prepared to the disputation. When the consul had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin, Faber, first entering the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterwards would persuade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit, for the discussing of such matters by disputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a general council, which (he said) was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding Zuinglius still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no man would appear there to offer any disputation, the assembly brake up, and was discharged: whereupon the senate of Zurich incontinently caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territory, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. A.D. 1523.²

Sixty-seven articles of Zuinglius.

Faber re fuseth to dispute.

The assembly breaketh up without disputation.

When the gospel had thus begun to take place, and to flourish in Zurich and certain other places of Helvetia, in the following year (A.D. 1524), another assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerne, where this decree was made on the contrary part:

The gospel publicly received; traditions abolished.

Constitutions decreed in the Assembly of Lucerne.

That no man should deride or condemn the word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the mass to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quick and the dead.

That those who are able to receive the Lord's body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the church requireth.

That the rights and customs of holy church be kept.

That every one obey his own proper pastor and curate, and receive the sacraments of him, after the manner of holy church, and pay him his yearly duties.

That honour be given to priests.

Item, to abstain from flesh-eating on fasting-days, and in Lent to abstain from eggs and cheese.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. iii.

(2) Ibid. [p. 191.—Ed.]

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1521.

That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received determination of holy church; and that in taverns and at table no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That images and pictures of saints in every place be kept inviolate.

That priests and ministers of the church be not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the magistrate.

That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion do happen.

That no person deride the relics of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

Finally, That all the laws and decrees set forth by the bishop of Constance, be observed.

These constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the magistrate, and overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress.

After these things concluded thus at Lucerne, the cantons of Helvetia together directed their public letter to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to this effect: —

Sub-
stance of
the letter
of the Hel-
vetians to
the Tigu-
rines, or
men of
Zurich.

They much lamented and complained of this new-broached doctrine which had set all men together by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and new-fangled heads which had greatly disturbed both the state of the church, and of the commonwealth, and had scattered the seeds of discord, where before-time all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (said they) ought to have been looked to betimes, so that they should not have suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin and other saints, so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintain the same; yet, notwithstanding, they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soul: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all license and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofs of late; the like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda,¹ who so take upon them to expound the word of God after their own interpretation, opening thereby whole doors and windows to discord and dissension. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days were alike to eat both flesh and eggs, as well one as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, brake their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; God's service was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased; priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their cloisters; confession and penance were neglected, so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy altar, without any confession made to the priest before. The holy mass was derided and scorned; our blessed Lady and other saints blasphemed; images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the sacraments. To make short, men now were grown unto such a license and liberty, that uneth the holy host could be safe within the priest's hands, &c.

The disorder of all which things, as it is of no small importance, so it was to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said), of this their complaining, when in their former assembly they sent unto them before the like admonition, writing to them by certain of the clergy, and craving their aid in the same; which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the premises, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the religion of their old ancestors, who were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in pilling men's purses with their indulgences,

(1) Zuinglius and Leo Juda were preachers at this time in Zurich

or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual: if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves join their diligence and good will thereto; forasmuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed.

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1524.

To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians, written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. Whereunto the Zurichers made their answer again on the 21st of March, the same year, in manner as followeth:

Answer of the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to the five Towns of the Switzers.

First, they declared, how their ministers had laboured and travailed among them, teaching and preaching the word of God unto them the space now of five years; whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they had never heard the same before. But that after they understood and perceived the scope of that doctrine¹ only to tend to this: to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, who gave his life and blood for our redemption, and who only delivereth us also sinful misers from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful a message.

The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men's doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same. Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach, should be either evil or well-judged upon, but only for that it agreeth with, or disagreeeth from, the rule of God's word: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the authority of the word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man. And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any saint else, receive any injury thereby; who, when here on earth, received their salvation only by the name of him.

No injury to saints if Christ alone be worshipped.

And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their city have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same; so that their preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who, for their gain and dignity, wrest the word of God after their own affections and appetites. And whereas they, and others, have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them; although divers bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Coire, with divers universities besides, also they themselves, have been sundry times desired so to do, yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any other, so did; neither were they, nor any of all the aforesaid bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only those of Schaffhausen and

Who be they that wrest the Scripture?

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

(1) If the scope of doctrine be well marked, between the papists and the protestants, it will not be hard for any man to judge which is the true doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the pope's doctrine, tendeth to set up the honour and wealth of man, as may appear by the doctrine of supremacy, of confession, of the mass, of the sacrament of the altar, &c.: all which do tend to the magnifying of priests; as purgatory, obsequies, pardons, and such like serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the protestants, as well touching justification, original sin, as also the sacraments and invocation, and all other such, tend to the setting up of Christ alone, and to the casting down of man.

*S 1582
History.*

A. D.
1524.

Bishops
neither
will feed
the flock,
nor suffer
it to be
fed
themselves.

St. Gallen. In the which aforesaid assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them. And if the bishops haply should object again, and say, that the word of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the bishops' office, to provide that the sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the fathers and to councils; therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in his Scripture. Neither have their ministers given any occasion for this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such as for their own private lucre and preferences, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into error; and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities: who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

As for the eating of flesh and eggs,¹ although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offense of others.

Priests'
marriage.

And as touching matrimony, God is himself the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paul willeth a minister of the church to be the husband of one wife. And seeing that bishops for money permit their priests to have concubines, which is contrary both to God's law and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony which he hath ordained, as resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge and suppose, that such kinds of vows and coacted chastity are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastity is not all men's gift, better it were to marry (after their judgments), than filthily to live in single life.

Vows of
chastity
not agree-
ing to
God's
law.
Monaste-
ries first
given to
the poor,
now serve
for the
rich.

As for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now those who inhabit them are wealthy and able to live of their own patrimony, in such sort as many times some of them have so much, as might well suffice a great number; wherefore it seemeth to them not inconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor. Yet, nevertheless, they have used therein such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy the possession of their goods, during the term of their natural life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Orna-
ments of
churches
better be-
stowed
upon the
poor.
Good
priests
not to be
con-
temned:
the rabble
of them to
be dimi-
nished.

Ornaments of churches serve nothing to God's service; but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young man in the gospel, who was rich, not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

The order of priesthood they do not condemn. Such priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other rabble, that serve to no public commodity, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and prayers of such priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of wages do the same.

Confes-
sion to
the priest
and to
Christ.

As for secret confession, wherein men do detect their sins in the priest's ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspense. But that confession whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ our only intercessor, they account not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests do use, they reckon it but a practice to get money, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a man to amend his life.

(1) It was the pope's law then, that in Lent no man should eat flesh or eggs, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy [1 Tim. iv.]. 'In the latter days certain shall depart from the faith, hearkening to the doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat,' &c.

The orders of monkery, came only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

*Swiss
History.*

And as touching the sacraments, such as be of the Lord's institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence; neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to be used rightly, according to the prescript rule of God's word. And so with the like reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according as the word prescribeth, not (as many do abuse it), to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

A. D.
1521.

Order of
monkery.
Use of sa-
craments.

And if the messengers sent to them of the clergy, in their letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hinderance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would, that those messengers of the clergy should hereafter look better to their own doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

False
tale-
carriers.

Finally, Whereas they understand by their letters how desirous they are to have the pope's oppressions and exactions, and his usurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the word of God only and simply be received: for otherwise, so long as men's laws and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For, by the preaching of God's word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay, and that they well perceive; and therefore, by all means do provide how to stop the course of the Word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of kings and princes. For the necessary remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter: declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound, this that they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else than peace, both between them and all men; neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their league and band agreed upon between them. But in this cause, which concerneth their eternal salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them. Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their doctrine to be repugnant to the holy Scripture, they will gently show and teach them their error; and that, before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the bishop of Constance, and also from the university of Basil.

The only
true re-
formation
is that the
word of
God only
be re-
ceived.
The pope
cannot
abide the
preaching
of the
word,
and why?

The Ti-
gurines
will be
judged by
the Scrip-
tures.

And thus much containeth the answer of the Zurichers unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above-mentioned, was now come, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council about him, did answer the Zurichers, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain book first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what images and pictures those were, which the profane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what images be these, which the church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against images, and willeth them not to be suffered; that is to be understood of such images and idols, as the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles did use: yet nevertheless such images and pictures as the church hath received, are to be used and retained.¹

The
bishop
of Con-
stance
answer-
eth them
by writ-
ing.

A popish
distinction
between the
images
of the
Gentiles
and the
images
of the
Chris-
tians.

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the mass, where

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1524.

Book
of the
bishop
of Con-
stance in
defence
of the
mass and
images.
Answer
of the
Zuri-
chers to
it.

Images
abolished
within all
Zurich.

he proveth, by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the pope's canons and councils, the mass to be a sacrifice and oblation.

This book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their images, or the mass, to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the minster of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church received, and not to suffer themselves to be persuaded otherwise by any man.

The senate again, answering to the bishop's book, about the middle of August, did write unto him, declaring first, that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence: which book, forasmuch as the bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the 13th of June, they commanded all the images, as well within the city as through their dominion, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after, an order was taken in the said city of Zurich, between the canons of the church and city, for disposing the lands and possessions of the college.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of religion; but, briefly to contract, and to run over the chief specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians who were confederate together in the thirteen cantons, chiefly six there were, which most disdained and maligned this religion of the Zurichers: to wit, the cantons of Lucerne, of Uri, of Schweitz, of Unterwalden, of Zug, and of Friburg; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest showed themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceived great grudge and raised many slanderous reports and false rumours against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the public league of the other cantons with Francis the French king; then for dissenting from them in religion; and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the popish decree made the year before at Ratisbon by Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, and certain bishops above mentioned.¹

False
accusa-
tion laid
against
the Zuri-
chers.
What
slander-
ous
tongues
can do.

The Zu-
richers'
answer.

They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the people of Waldshut, their neighbours, against the archduke Ferdinand, their prince; which was false: Also for joining league secretly with other cities, without their knowledge; which was likewise false: Item, That they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with war; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the Zurichers, which were all false and cavilling slanders; as, that they should teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Christ had no sons; and that James the younger, the apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths being mere matters of cavillation and slander, the Zurichers

(1) See page 321.-- Ed.

did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, on their parts undeserved, but also for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands, among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one: that the burghermaster of Thurgau had apprehended a certain preacher, named John Oxline, and led him home as prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the city of Zurich, contrary to law and order.

*Swiss
History.*

A.D.
1525.

John
Oxline
appre-
hended
for re-
ligion.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their country; as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would prove wherein they did err by the word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that religion wherein their consciences were already staid by the word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Although here was no cause why these pages or cantons, which were so confederated together in the league of peace, should disagree amongst themselves; yet herein we may see the course and trade of the world, that when difference of religion beginneth a little to break the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes; what suspicions do arise; what quarrels and grudges do follow; how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken to the worst part; small motes are made mountains; virtues made vices, and one vice made a thousand; and all for lack only of a little good-will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men either covereth or seeth not the faults of their friends, so hatred and disdain, taking all things to blaine, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good men of Zurich, and these other Switzers above-named.

What
love and
hatred
doth.

These letters of the Zurichers to the other cantons were written on the 4th of January 1525, upon the occasion of their apprehending the preacher, John Oxline above-mentioned; and in the month of April next following, the magistrates and senate of the said city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all the ceremonies and appurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the city, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching. Also a law was made against whoredom and adultery, and judges were ordained to hear the causes of matrimony, A.D. 1525.¹

*See
Appendix.*

The mass
put down
in Zurich.

A law
made
against
adultery.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve pages, or towns, appointed among themselves concerning a meeting or a disputation to be had at Baden: where were present, among other divines, John Faber. Eckius, and Murner above mentioned. The bishops also of Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne, sent thither their legates. The conclusions there propounded were these. That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament: that the mass

Disputa-
tion at
Baden.

Proposi-
tions pro-
pounded
at Baden.

(1) Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. iv. [p. 329 and 347—352.—Ed.]

Swiss History. is a sacrifice for the quick and dead: that the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invoked as mediators and intercessors: that images ought not to be abolished: that there is a purgatory.

A.D.
1527.

Zuinglius
excuseth
himself
from
coming.

These conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned Œcolampadius (who was then chief preacher at Basil), with certain other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius: declaring withal the causes of his absence; which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of the people of Lucerne, of Uri, of Schweitz, of Unterwalden, and of Zug, his enemies; and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation; excusing moreover that he was not permitted of the senate to come: nevertheless, if they would assign the place of disputation either at Zurich, or at Bern, or at St. Gallen, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the authority of the council, neither should admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the month of June, A.D. 1526.¹

Disputa-
tion at
Berne.

Godly
laws of
disputa-
tion.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year, A.D. 1527,¹ in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne (whose power among all the Switzers chiefly excelleth), considering how they could not have the acts of the disputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about religion still more and more increased, assigned another disputation within their own city, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the bishops bordering near about them, as the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, Lausanne; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them; or else to lose all such possessions as they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain ecclesiastical persons of their jurisdiction to dispute; prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe-conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified and observed through all their dominions. And to the intent men might come thither better prepared beforehand, they propounded in public writing ten conclusions in the said disputation to be defended of their ministers by the Scriptures; which ministers were, Franciscus Colbus and Bertholdus Hallerus. The themes or conclusions were these:

Themes
to be dis-
puted.

I. That the true church, whereof Christ is the head, riseth out of God's word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

II. That the same church maketh no laws without the word of God.

III. That traditions, ordained in the name of the church, do not bind but so far forth as they be consonant to God's word.

(1) Foxe says here, "the said year above mentioned:" but the last year mentioned is "1525:" and the "next year" is presently called "1527:" hence the necessity of the change here made.—ED.

IV. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the world : and therefore if any man say, that there is any other way of salvation, or mean to put away sin, the same denieth Christ.

V. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

VI. That the use of the mass, wherein Christ is presented and offered up to his heavenly Father for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.

VII. That Christ only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of mankind to God the Father.

VIII. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein souls are purged after this life : and therefore all those prayers and ceremonies, yearly dirges and obits, which are bestowed upon the dead ; also lamps, tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.

IX. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture ; and therefore, if any such be erected in churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

X. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but, for eschewing of fornication, is generally commanded, and permitted to all men by the word of God. And forasmuch as all fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the communion of the church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of priests is most of all inconvenient for the order of priesthood.

When the senate and people of Bern had sent abroad their letters with these themes and conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them both to send their learned men, and to suffer all others to pass safely through their countries ; the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweiz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Soleure, and of Friburg, answered again by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise, putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above-mentioned, of which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors. Saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general council : wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. And in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country.¹ To this and such like effect tended the letters of these Switzers above-named.

Letters and answer of the Switzers to the senate and people of Bern.

All which notwithstanding, the lords of Bern, proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed (which was the 7th of January), began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified, who were assigned to come, there was not one present. Nevertheless the cities of Basil, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, St. Gallen, and Mulhausen, with the neighbours of Rhetia ; also they of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Lindau, Constance, and Isny, sent thither their ambassadors.

The above-mentioned doctors of the city of Bern began the disputation ; whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, with others more, who all defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of those who were the opponents, the chieftain was Conrad Treger, a

The disputation begins.

The pope's doctrine

(1) Ex Com. Jo. Sleid. lib. iv.

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1528.

cannot
abide the
trial of
the Scrip-
ture.

Masses
and
images
put down
at Bern.

frar Augustine ; who, to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same (being contrary to the order before appointed), he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

The disputation endured nineteen days ; in the end whereof it was agreed, by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Bern, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in sundry other cities near adjoining : furthermore, that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

The
pope's
clergy
cannot
abide to
be re-
strained.

Ambrose
Blaurer.

At the city of Constance, certain things began to be altered a little before ; where also, among other things, laws were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or dishonest company ; whereat the canons (as they are called) of the church taking great grief and displeasure, departed the city. In the said city was then as a teacher, Ambrose Blaurer, a learned man, and born of a noble stock, who had been a monk a little before, professed in the monastery of Alberspach, in the dutchy of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinand. This Blaurer, by reading of Luther's works, and having a good wit, had a little before changed his religion, and also his coat, returning again home to his friends ; and when his abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the senate of Constance for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing ; propounding withal certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the abbot was rather willing and contented that he should remain still at Constance ; and so he did.

Reforma-
tion at
Con-
stance.

After this disputation thus concluded at Bern (as hath been said), the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also, for their parts, were not behind, following likewise the example of the city of Bern, in extirpating images and ceremonies ; by reason whereof the bishop and clergy there left, and departed the city in no small anger.

The lance
knights
forsake
their
league
with the
French
king.

The Bernese, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, renounced the league made before with the French king ; refusing and forsaking his war stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his wars ; following therein the example of the Zurichers, who before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly pension that the king payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keep peace.

Victory
of the
gospel.

The day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity began with them, they caused on a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetual memory to all posterity to come. This was A. D. 1528.

Reforma-
tion in
Stras-
burg.

After the rumour of this disputation and alteration of Bern was noised in other cities and places abroad, first the ministers of Strasbourg, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated ; and instead thereof the

right use of the Lord's Supper to be restored again : which unless they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the bishop of Rome's clergy did hold and maintain, that the mass was good and holy ; whereupon kindled great contention on both sides : which when the senate and magistrates of the city would have brought to a disputation, and could not, because the priests would not condescend to any reasoning ; therefore, seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said magistrates commanded them to silence.

*Swiss
History.*
A.D.
1528.

The bishop, in the meanwhile, ceased not with his letters and messengers daily to call upon the senate, desiring the senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no ear to those new teachers ; declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them. The senate again desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things as appertained to the true honour and worship of God might be set forward, and all other things which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away ; for that properly belonged to his office to see to. But the bishop, still driving them off with delays, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies ; where indeed nothing was performed at all ; but with his letters he did often solicit them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by way of entreating, sometimes with menaeing words terrifying them : and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his suit to the assembly of the empire, which was then at Spires collected, entreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their authority.

The
bishop to
the se-
nate.

The se-
nate re-
plieth to
the bish-
op.

The
bishop
complain-
eth to the
council of
Spires.

They, ready to satisfy the bishop's request, sent a solemn embassy to the senate and citizens of Strasburg, about December in the year abovesaid, with this request :

The Message from the Council to the City of Strasburg.

They required them not to put down the mass ; for it was neither (said they) in the power of the emperor, nor of any other estate, to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a general, or by a provincial council ; which council if they supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the empire, which should be with speed : where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them. For it was (said they) against all law and reason, for a private magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole world have been agreed upon ; and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands ; for else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune that the emperor, their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinand his deputy, would not take it well, and so they should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel ; who, in so doing, should not only gladden the emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety.

Besides the messengers thus sent from the council of Spires, the bishop also of Hildesheim had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the emperor's name, after like manner. Neither did the

The
bishops
of Hilde-
sheim and

*Swiss
History.*

A.D.
1529.

Strasburg
travail to
keep
Strasburg
in their
old reli-
gion.
Reforma-
tion in
Stras-
burg.

bishop of Strasburg also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts or friendship; that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the others.

The mass
over-
thrown
there.

The senate of Strasburg, in the meantime, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy, the space now of two years, and the preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a reformation, and suit also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full council to the number of three hundred (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do), and there with themselves debated the case; declaring on the one side, if they abolished the mass, what danger they should incur by the emperor; on the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God: and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every man should say his mind, it so fell out, that the voices and judgments of those who went against the mass, prevailed: whereupon immediately a decree was made, on the 20th of February, A. D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture the mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

The
bishop
patient
perforce.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate eftsoons commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the city, as also without, as far as their limits and dominion did extend; and afterwards, by letters, certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. The bishop, hearing this news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again, how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise choose: hereafter would serve (he said); he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

Reforma-
tion be-
ginneth
at Basil.

Thus how the mass was overthrown in Zurich, in Bern, in Geneva, and in Strasburg, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil, remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was *Æcolampadius*, a preacher (as is above signified), by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began there to take such root, that great dissension there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass: whereupon the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what was to be done therein. This notwithstanding, the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some privy maintainers among the senators: whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons, to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Their suit and request was this: that those senators who were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did

as well tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the public disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the senate, the commons, on the 8th of February, in the year abovesaid, assembled themselves in the Grey Friars' church, and there, considering with themselves upon the whole matter, repaired again with their suit unto the senate, but not in such humble wise as before; and therewithal gathered themselves in the public places of the city, to fortify the same; albeit as yet without armour. The same evening, the senate sent them word, that at their request they granted, that those senators, though remaining still in office, should not sit in the council at what time any matter of religion should come in talk.

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1529.

The
popish
senators
displaced
at Basil.

By this answer the commons, gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of religion, but also in other matters of civil government; and forthwith took them to armour, keeping the towers and gates, and other convenient places of the city with watch and ward, in as forcible wise as if the enemy had been at hand.

Religion
defended
by the
commons.

The next day the senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suitors unto them; which offer the citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that those senators who were guilty, should in the mean season follow their plea as private persons, upon their own private costs and charges; and that the others, who defended the public cause for the behoof of their posterity, should be maintained by the public charges of the city. This the senate was glad to grant, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens (such as were appointed to go about the city for the viewing of things), came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, eftsoons it fell down and brake; by the occasion whereof, other images also, in like sort, were served after the same devotion. But when the priests came running to them, who seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their commission, staid their hands and departed.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens who stood in the market-place, the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinently discharged out three hundred armed men, to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger: who, coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down, they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all churches in the city, did there also the like. And when certain of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "That which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we dispatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance; and twelve senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. A decree also the same time was made, that

God's
handy-
work in
throwing
down
images in
Basil.

Twelve
senators
displaced
at Basil.

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1529.

Mass put
down
there.

as well within the city of Basil, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the affairs of the public wealth, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred and sixty of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city three days and three nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the images.

Ash Wed-
nesday, at
Basil, a
day of all
pastime.

A true
Ash Wed-
nesday of
God's
own
making.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday (as the pope's ceremonial church doth call it), all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said images should be burnt altogether; so that in nine great heaps all the stocks and idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church door.¹ And thus, by God's ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the pope's priests are wont to show forth all their mourning, and do mark men's foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole city festival and joyful, for turning their images to ashes; and so is observed and celebrated every year still, unto this present day, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes; which day may there be called a right Ash Wednesday of God's own making. The men of Zurich, of Bern, of Soleure, hearing what business was at Basil, sent their ambassadors to be a mean between them; but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

God's
provi-
dence, for
the suc-
cess of
the gos-
pel.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strife; which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who, in the said wars, was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened commodiously and opportunely for the success of the gospel: for else it is to be thought that these Helvetians and other Germans should not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposeth times and occasions to serve his will and purpose in all things; albeit Ferdinand the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the Protestants, as appeared both by the decree set forth at Ratisbon, and also by that at Spire; in which council of Spire Ferdinand, at the same time, which was A.D. 1529, had decreed against the Protestants in effect as followeth.

A decree
of the em-
peror's
brother,
Ferdin-
and,
against
the pro-
testants.

'First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should stand in force through all Germany, till the time of the general council which should shortly follow. Also, that those who had already altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more innovations hereafter, till the time of the general council.

Item, That the doctrine of those who hold the Lord's Supper otherwise than the church doth teach, should not be received, nor the mass should be altered: and there, where the doctrine of religion was altered, there should be no impediment to the contrary, but that those who were disposed to come to mass, might

(1) Ex Farrag. Epist. Eras.

safely therein use their devotion. Against anabaptists likewise; and that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors: other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that for religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard; all which decrees they who should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled.

*Swiss
History.*
A. D.
1530.

Unto this sitting at Spire, first, the ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinand, because they had rejected the mass; and therefore the said city of Strasburg denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they, with other Germans, might be likewise admitted into their counsels. The other princes who were received and not repelled, as the duke of Saxony, and George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Anhalt, did utterly gainstand the decree, and showed their cause, in a large protestation written why they so did: which done, all such cities as subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the princes, afterwards conjoined themselves in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name called therefore 'Protestants.' The names of the cities were these: Argentina or Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbrun, Isny, Weisseburg, Nordlingen, St. Gallen.

The decree re-
sisted by
protes-
tants.

The name
of 'pro-
testants,'
how it
first
began.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians (from whence we have somewhat digressed), how the cities of Bern and Zurich had consented and joined together in reformation of true religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in league with Ferdinand: the number and names of which pages especially were five; to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, which was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they, conjoining their power together, might overrun the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same: who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the arms of the aforesaid cities of Zurich and Bern upon the gallows, besides many other injuries and grievances which they wrought against them; for which cause the said cities of Bern and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the aforesaid Switzers, as upon their capital enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the means of the city of Strasburg and other intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

The po-
pish
pages in
Helvetia,
confede-
rate with
Ferdi-
nand.

As touching the council of Augsburg which followed the next year after the assembly of Spire, A. D. 1530, how the princes and protestants of Germany, in the same council exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly duke Frederic persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words and replications of the emperor; also in what danger the said princes had been, had not the landgrave privily by night slipped out of the city, pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

The
council of
Augs-
burg.
The con-
fession of
the pro-
testants.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvetians, of whom we have here presently to treat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two cities of Zurich and Bern, and the other five cities of the cantons, was pacified by the means of inter-

*Swiss
History.*

A.D.
1531.

Wars be-
tween the
gospelers
and the
five po-
pish
towns of
Switzer-
land.

cession; which peace so continued the space of two years. After that, the old wound, waxing raw again, began to burst out and gather to a head; which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the others: wherefore the Zurichers and the Bernese, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victual to pass unto them. This was A.D. 1531. And when great trouble was like to kindle thereby, the French king, with certain other cantons of Switzerland, as those of Glarus, Friburg, Soleure, and other, coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them; which conditions were these: that all contumelies and injuries past should be forgotten: that hereafter neither part should molest the other: that those who were banished for religion, should again be restored: that the five pages might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament: that no kind of disquietness should be procured against them of Bern and Zurich: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the five-page men would not observe those covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernese and Zurichers, showing and declaring first their cause in public writing, to purge and exense the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before, beset the highways and passages, that no furniture or victual, or other forage, could come to the other pages; by reason whereof, when they of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich, where then war lying a garrison of the Zurich men, to the number of a thousand and more; wherupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurich, to succour their men with speed. But their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them; for when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw their fellows in great distress in the valley under them. Hereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once: by reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their ranks to join altogether, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude; which was on the 11th of October in the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Uldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also Joner, abbot of Cappel, and Schmit, Commendator of Kusnacht, with thirteen other learned and worthy men were slain; being, as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by John Sleidan and especially by Œcolampadius, in his epistle,¹ where

The Zuri-
chers
over-
come.

Uldricus
Zuinglius
slain.

*See
Appendix.*

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. viii. Et ex Epist. Johan. Œcolampad. lib. iv. Mart., Frechto, et Sordio, [p. 211 of Epistolæ doct. vitorum quibus tum Euchar. et Anabaptismi negotium tum alia continetur; fol. 1548. — Ep.]

first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the Zurich men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of their church goes with them. Zuinglius also of himself, being (saith Sleidan) a man of a stout and bold courage, considering, if he should remain at home when war should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

*Swiss
History.*
A. D.
1531.

Æcolampadius moreover addeth, that he went not out as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and as a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. "And which of them all," saith he, "that most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart in him, to do the like?" Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the senate, being importunate upon him, would have no nay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his brethren as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare.¹ When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon the dead corpse: such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead.²

Zuinglius
excused
for his go-
ing out to
war.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire, three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned;³ in much like manner as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which also in the ashes was found and taken up unconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

Zuin-
glius's
dead body
burned.

His heart
found
whole in
the ashes.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five pages against the aforesaid abbot of Capella, that they took him, being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monk's cowl, and set him in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most despicable manner.⁴ Uldrieus Zuinglius, when he died, was of the age of forty-four years; younger than Martin Luther by four years.

Cruel
handling
of the ab-
bot of
Capella.

The Bernese, who were purposed the same time to achieve war against the Untervaldians, bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Zurichers, to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail, but come and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the Zurichers had assembled their power together, which was the eighth day after the battle, and had received aid from Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, St. Gallen, and from Basil (the Bernese at this time were nothing hasty), out of the whole number they chose out certain ensigns, who setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Menzig, intending when the moon was up, to take the town of Zug, lying

Another
skirmish
between
the Zuri-
chers and
the page-
men.

(1) Hæc Æcolampad.

(2) Ex Com Johan. Sleid. lib. viii. [p. 472. Edit. Francof. 1785.—Ed.]

(3) Ex Oswaldo Miconio de vita et obitu Zuinglii.

(4) Ex Epist. Æcolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib. iv. [p. 173.]

*Swiss
History.*

A. D.
1532.

Peace
conclud-
ed be-
tween the
Protes-
tants and
the Pa-
pists.

The death
of Ecol-
ampad-
ius,
A. D. 1531.
His Com-
mentaries
upon the
Prophets.

Death of
John Fre-
deric
duke of
Saxony.
[Aug.
16th, A. D.
1532.]

near at hand, upon the sudden: which when their enemies had perceived, who were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner they came upon them at rest, the 24th of October, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry. So it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slain; and, albeit the five-page men had the upper hand, yet would they of Zurich nothing relent in their religion. At last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Zurichers, Bernese, and Basilians, should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strasburg and the Landgrave: likewise that the five-page men should give over their league and composition made with Ferdinand: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

(Ecolampadius, the preacher of the city of Strasburg above recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, insomuch that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of November above mentioned, being of the age of forty-nine years, older than Martin Luther by one year. Although this Ecolampadius then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy works which he left behind him, still live and shall never die.

The next year following, which was A. D. 1532, in the month of August, died also the worthy and memorable prince John Frederic, duke of Saxony, who, for testimony of Christ and of his gospel, sustained such trials, so many brunts, and such vehement conflicts with the emperor, and that especially at the council assembled at Augsburg; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him or any prince to have endured so constant and unmovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederic his son, &c.

And thus have you the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story; which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded the true meaning of the apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to judge the Lord's body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as follow:

A Letter of Uldricus Zuinglius to N. his brother in the Lord.¹

Unto your questions propounded to me in your former letters, well-beloved brother! I have sent you here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's supper is a very thanksgiving; for so the apostle himself meaneth, saying, 'Ye shall show forth the Lord's death:' where the word of showing forth, signifieth as much as praising or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is a Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my judgment no other thing ought to be obtruded on men's consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, this is not to be neglected, that every man do prove and examine

(1) Gratiam et pacem in Domino. Accipe igitur charis. frat., &c.

himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own consciences, what faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet feigneth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove those who sit at the table eating of meats offered to idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul, a little before, writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, who, bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's table: 'You cannot,' saith he, 'be partakers both of the Lord's table, and the table of devils,' &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he who hath a right faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to idols: for he is now a member of another body, that is of Christ; so that he cannot join himself now to be one body with idolaters. And therefore those be they who do not judge or discern the Lord's body, that make no difference between the church of Christ, and the church of idolaters. For they that sit at the Lord's table, eating of idol meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's supper, and the supper of the devil; who be they whom Paul saith not to judge the body of the Lord, that is, who make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's church, than to the church of devils. Whereas if we would judge ourselves; that is, if we would thoroughly search and examine our own consciences as we should, in coming to the table of the Lord, we, finding any faith in us, would never go to the table, nor make thereof the feast, of devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not amiss in expounding the word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much as considering, perpending, and inquiring.

Swiss History.

A. D.
1532.

The place of St. Paul, of judging the Lord's body.

Who be they who judge not.

To your second question, I answer that Jesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. 'Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter invitantis;' that is, 'These words declare the action of one who properly doth a thing; and not the hospitality of one who inviteth another to eat.'

Jesus took bread.

Touching your third question, out of the 6th chapter of John, 'Doth this offend you?' herein I do fully agree with you.

As for this word 'Ostren,' which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we now keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's people from the thralldom of Satan; before, from the thralldom of Pharaoh: neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing itself be one, and the analogy and constancy of the Scripture be kept; for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, 'Wanderfest,' well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pæsal.

On the word 'Easter.'

To your fifth interrogation, of Christ's descending into hell; I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers, who died in the faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going down into hell, 'non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptive, sed potentialiter;' that is, be not so understood as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place; but by power, which is by the operation of his Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the article of Christ's descending into hell importeth as much as that his death redeemed those who were in hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, 'The gospel also was preached to them which were dead;' that is, that they also did feel the good tidings of the gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they who rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in the flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of Man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the latter; and so be you contented with this present answer rushed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well; and comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

The descending of Christ into hell.

From Zurich, September 1, A. D. 1527.³

(1) Ut mors illius eos qui erant apud inferos redimeret.

(2) 1 Pet. iii.

(3) "Fridie Calend. Sept." Epis. p. 122, i.e. August 31.—Ed.

*Henry VIII.**A. D. 1523.*

The corruption of the see of Rome continually cried out against.

The pope charged with heresy by Luther.

The foundation of the pope's doctrine contrary to christian faith.

Justification by faith renewed by Luther.

From the first beginning of this whole book and history hitherto, good reader ! thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much business in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the church of Rome ; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, who hath not disproved the misordered doings, and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther ? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet, notwithstanding, never any could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought, that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of life ; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning ; not with doings, but with his doctrine ; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root ; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat ; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood ; the pope, proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's meriting and deserving by works : whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him, who is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness ; whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men (some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness), to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God took most occasion of comfort and salvation, thereof the adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissension and perturbation ; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, that he came not to send peace on earth, but

the sword.¹ And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world; whereby arose great disquietness amongst the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and christian men. Thus, while authority, armed with laws and rigour, did strive against simple verity; lamentable it was to hear how many poor men were troubled, and went to wrack, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some racked with torment, and some pursued to death with faggot and fire. Of these we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to treat; first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then returning to our own stories and martyrs here in England.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1523.

Great persecution after the doctrine of Luther.

Henry Voes and John Esch, Friars Augustine,

BURNT AT BRUSSELS, A.D. 1523.

In the year of our Lord 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of twenty-four years, and the other John Esch; who before had been of the order of the Augustine friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvain; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call Lutheranism. Their examiners were Hochestratus and others, who demanded of them, what they did believe? They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the precepts of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, who had delivered them through his great goodness from the false and abominable priesthood, and made of them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars, and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

Egmondanus and Hochestratus doctors of Louvain. persecutors.

Their examination.

The cause of their accusation and martyrdom.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had

Henry
VIII.A.D.
1523.

long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with 'Te Deum laudamus,' and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet." Finally, the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.¹

Against
all reason
that the
clergy
should be
exempted
from the
civil
magis-
trate.

Henry being demanded amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: "Yea," said he, "even as Christ seduced his apostles." He said also, that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock therewithal. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp; the president whereof, by the papists called Jacob the Lutheran, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterwards, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.²

See
Appendix.

Henry of Zutphen, Monk, a Martyr, at Dithmarsch.

The next year after the burning of those two christian martyrs at Brussels above mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the country of Dithmarsch on the borders of Germany, one Henry Zutphen, monk, A.D. 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the

(1) Behold how constantly and joyfully these martyrs take their death.

(2) Ex 6. Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 307. [“ This year, A.D. 1523, Soliman the Great Turk wrote a letter unto the Master of the Rhodes, requiring to have the town given over unto him: the tenor whereof here ensueth :

Letter of Solyman, the Great Turk, to the Master of the Rhodes.

Solimanus Isaacus, King of kings, and Lord of lords, by the grace of God most mighty emperor of Constantinople and Trebisonde, &c.; unto the reverend father Philip de Villiers l'Isle Adam, grand Master of the Rhodes, to his knights, and the commonalty there.

Compassion for my afflicted people and your extreme injuries have moved me. Therefore I command you the speedy surrender of the island and citadel of Rhodes, humanely and willingly granting you the favour, to depart with all your riches and substance; or, if ye will, to remain under my dominion, your liberty and your religion not being diminished in any thing, not even in paying of tribute. If ye be wise, prefer amity and peace before most cruel war; for if ye be overcome, there is nothing to be looked for but extreme cruelty, such as the vanquished are wont to receive at the hands of the conquerors; from which neither your own force, nor foreign aids, shall in any case defend you, neither yet your mighty strong walls, which I will utterly subvert. Fare ye well: which thing you may do, if ye will before force prefer my friendship, which shall be assured unto you without fraud or guile. I swear by God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and by the four historiographers of evangelical histories, and by the twenty-four thousand prophets that came from heaven, and chiefest of them our Mahomet, and by the worshipful spirits of my father and grandfather, and by this my sacred and august imperial head. From our palace at Constantinople.

The same year, in the time of pope Adrian, the island of Rhodes was lost, and yielded over to Solyman the Turk, to the great hinderance and detriment of all Christendom." From Edition 1563, p. 422. The history of the taking of Rhodes will be found *suprà*, p. 53. See Appendix.—Ed.]

commentaries of John Sleidan, lib. iv. ; but his history is more amply described of Luther, of Paulus Eberus in his calendar, of Ludovicus Rabus, of Crispinus, and other. This Zutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterwards coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said ; who, being at Bremen, was there required, by certain godly citizens of Bremen, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel ; whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily allured and persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel ; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust out of the city both him, and also the gospel of Christ ; for that was their chief seeking : whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished the town, who, in his doctrine, preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached, who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew no other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, who should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house or any other man could bring testimonial or witness, that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the chapter-house to persecute him : for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men would not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice, by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

Henry
Zutphen
VIII.A. D.
1523.Henry
Zutphen
preacheth
at
Bremen.Monks
and
priests
conspire
against
Zutphen.The
citizens
of Bre-
men ex-
cuse him.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop to certify him how the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

The
monks
complain
again of
the
preacher
to the
arch-
bishop.

When the archbishop heard tell of these things, straightway he sent two who were of his counsel, unto Bremen, requiring that Henry

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1523.

False accusation. The senate refuse to send the preacher to the archbishop, and require a disputation.

The suffragan would not confirm their children for anger.

Another practice of the archbishop.

A council of priests against Zutphen.

See Appendix.

should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they should have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the archbishop's suffragan, a naughty pernicious hypocrite, who sought by all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators; that forasmuch as the preacher, being hired of the churchwardens, had not hitherto been convicted for a heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the archbishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised that without any delay he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands, for the quietness of the whole country; taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his country. But for all this they could prevail nothing; for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

When he came unto the archbishop, he declared the answer of the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides that, they said that he was the prisoner of the lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.¹

All these crafts and subtleties did nothing at all prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the archbishop saw this his enterprise also frustrated, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both Zutphen, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed; whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buxtehude, which place they thought most meet for their purpose. To this council were called all the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereto to trust. Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic, albeit he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council.

Then the said Henry gathered a sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop; excusing his

(1) When the prelates cannot prevail by power, they fall to practice.

innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same; notwithstanding earnestly requiring, that his errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those anointed prelates.

What the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set up upon the church porch the bull of pope Leo X., and the decree of the emperor, made at Worms: whereupon Henry Zutphen, contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to entrap him in his words: but God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them, for he converted many of them; insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard; insomuch that they, forsaking all impiety, counselled men not to oppose the word of God, but believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so indurate and blinded with Pharaoh, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirm with his blood the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth.

It happened A.D. 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boyes, parish priest, and other faithful Christians, of the parish of Meldorf, which is a town in Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel of Christ unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion. These letters being received upon St. Catharine's even, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all others who required his aid: wherefore he thought good to go unto Dithmarsch, to see what God would work by him. He required also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken such deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout; and that the persecution was very great: willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Dithmarsch desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and untrustiness of them of Dithmarsch: besides that it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner: that albeit he

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1524.

The sum of his doctrine in writing. Catholic proceeding of the pope's clergy.

They that went about to take him, were taken.

See Appendix.

Zutphen sent for to preach at Meldorf.

The citizens of Bremen persuade Henry not to go

*Henry VIII.*A. D.
1524.The
causes
moving
him to go
to Dith-
marsch.

could not deny but that he had his call by them, yet now there were many godly and learned men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in more perfectly learning the gospel. Besides that the papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their folly known, even unto women and children; adding thereunto that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Dithmarsch lived without a pastor even in the midst of the wolves: wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Dithmarsch for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them that had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They, being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, steadfastly hoping that they of Dithmarsch should be converted unto the true faith; which people above all others have always been most given to idolatry.¹

Henry
taketh his
journey to
Meldorf.
*See
Appendix.*The prior
of the
Black Fri-
ars, with
others,
conspire
his death.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the 28th of November he took his journey, and came to Meldorf, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received of the parish priest and other. As soon as he was come thither, albeit he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Master John Schnick his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, and that he should not have license to preach; for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in Bremen. This determination had, the prior, the next day early in the morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares), went with great speed unto Heyde, to speak with the eight and forty presidents of the country; unto whom with great complaints he showed how that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, who would seduce all the people of Dithmarsch, as he had done the Bremers. There were, moreover, that did assist this prior, Master Gunter, chancellor of that country, and Peter Nanne, both enemies unto the gospel. These stoutly assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that

(1) In this rude country of Dithmarsch, Master Rogers, our countryman, was superintendent at the time of the six articles; where he, with great danger of his life, did very much good.

they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this monk should be put to death, neither heard, nor seen, much less convicted.

Henry VIII

A.D. 1524.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents unto the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty, that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily to Meldorf, and delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandment, the said Henry should be feared from preaching, plainly perceiving how important preaching was to his success.

The parish priest of Meldorf commanded to put away Henry.

See Appendix.

When Nicholas Boyes, the parish priest, had read over the letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, for that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parishioners; and long time before, it was decreed by the whole province, and customably used, that every church should have free liberty to choose or put out their parish priest or their preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation, to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Ditlmarsch, there was as near a way to heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that he must once suffer for the gospel's sake. Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is in Romans i. "Testis est mihi Deus," &c. that is, "God is my witness;" and the gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty-eight presidents, the tenor whereof was this: that they of Meldorf should be fined with a fine of a thousand guilders, if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send ambassadors unto Heyde with full power and authority. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the country; forasmuch as every parish had always had authority, according to its own discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the talk of the prior, they were greatly offended therewith.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding the place of St. Paul, Rom. xv., "Debemus nos qui potentes sumus," &c. "We ought which are strong," &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorf sent their messengers unto Heyde, offering to answer in all causes before all men for their preacher, whom they had chosen. Besides that, the messengers declared what christian and godly sermons they

Henry preacheth at Meldorf. The citizens write in his defence.

*Henry VIII.**A.D. 1521.**Good counsel of Peter Dethleves.**See Appendix.*

heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said legates unto the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry, to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God; and offered himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, who, being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth: saying moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth be tried out and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition had, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment. This submission, with the public testimonial, was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one Peter Dethleves, one of the Seigniors, answered, that albeit there were divers dissensions in every place about the christian faith, and that they, as men ignorant, could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissension should be reserved to the next council, which, by the report of master chancellor, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also, until all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some who can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition: and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be made evident, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorf with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly end well.

Upon St. Nicholas' day this Henry preached twice, first upon the gospel, "*Homo quidam nobilis,*" &c. "*A certain nobleman,*" &c. [Luke xix.] Secondly, upon this text, "*Plures facti sunt sacerdotes,*" &c. "*There are many made priests,*" &c. [Heb. vii.], with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our lady, he also made two sermons upon Matthew i., expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers that then were, had lived; adding also, that all respect of works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that had sent them such a preacher; desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to

preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the prior and Master John Schnick were not idle; for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good success, he adjoined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobites, and so went up to Lunden, to the monks Franciscan, or Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all other are best instruct by their hypocrisy to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightways sent for certain of the rulers, who had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Nanne, Peter Schwin, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what a heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour of almost all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would shortly come to pass, that the honour of our lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1524.

The prior and monks again conspire against the gospel.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved: whereunto Peter Schwin answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done: notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy do also infect you, being unlearned men; for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Nanne, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master Gunter did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Nanne, Peter Schwin's son, Henning of Lunden, John Holmes, Laurence Hanneman, Nicholas of Wesslingburhen, Ambrose John of Wackenhusen, Marquardus Kremerus of Henstede, Louis John of Wessing, and Peter Grosse, president of Hemmingsted. All these presidents, and all other that were of counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of Neuenkirchen, in the house of Master Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry, secretly coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded, the next day after the conception of our lady to meet at Henning, which is half a mile from Meldorf, with a great band of the peasantry. This determination thus made, they laid scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretended mischiefs come unto Meldorf; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred of the peasantry, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done;

The monks and friars seek the death of Henry.

The names of the conspirators and persecutors.
See Appendix.

Henry VIII.

A.D.
1524.

A drunk-
en mur-
der.

*See
Appendix.*

Henning
the be-
trayer
of the
preacher.

Henry
taken and
carried
away by
the mur-
derers.

Cruel
handling
of God's
martyr.

for before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the peasants understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorf. The Jacobite monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Henning, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken people is. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, "Kill the thief," "Kill the thief." Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: others cried out, saying, that the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Nanne, who otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dithmarsch? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, "Away with him, away with him! for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also heretics." Then he, being marvellously weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? he shall go a-foot whether he will or no." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heyde. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house, seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done: wherefore he was carried away to the priest's house, the official's servant of Hamburgh, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, who all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all others, there came unto him Simon of Oldenworden, and Christian, parish priest of Neuen-Kirchen, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing that he said. Master Gunter also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Dithmarsch? unto whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's

word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me there-for." Gunter answered, "Hark!" I pray you, good friends, hark! he desireth to suffer in Dithmarsch." The common people all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1524.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place to consult what they should do; where the rustical people, boiling with drink, cried out, "Burn him, burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise, both of God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his heresy." What need many words? sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any judgment (his cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, that every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all others the friars Franciscan were present, encouraging the drunken, rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman, standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly; unto whom Henry turning himself, said, "I pray you weep not for me." When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the presidents named May, who was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

A drunk-
en con-
sultation,
"Crucify!
crucify!"

Henry
brought
forth to
the fire.

See
Appendix.

"Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Unto whom Henry answered, "I have done no such thing:" and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he said, "O Lord! forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God! is holy."

False
sentence
of a cor-
rupt
judge.

In the meantime a certain woman, the wife of one Junger, sister of Peter Nanne, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under foot, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rustical sort strake him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes of Neuen-Kirchen strake him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back, and in the arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, "Go to boldly, good fellows! truly God is present with us."

Tender
compass-
ion of a
godly
woman.

Tyranny
and fury
of the
people.

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto Henry, that he should be confessed; whom Henry demanded in this manner: "Brother! when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar.

(1) Where the offence is not done to man, confession to man there needeth not.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1524.

The fire
would not
kindle.

"What should I then confess unto you," said he, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him for two hours with all kind of weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean time in his shirt before all this rude people, at the last they, having gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt." Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his sore wounds he would not die.

S. John.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against (for those countrymen use no common hangman, but every man exerciseth the office without difference), but the ladder, slipping away from the point of the halbert, caused that the halbert struck him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which, tumbling down, lighted upon the one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom: which was A. D. 1524.¹

Divers
martyrs
secretly
drowned
in rivers.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the gospel, were thrown into the river Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterwards were found, and taken up. Also in the said town of Dithmarsch another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession sealed with their blood, in a sweet savour unto God.

George
of Halle
preacher
in Sax-
ony, mar-
tyr.

At the town of Halle likewise, another preacher named Master George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain by a like sort of cut-throats, set up by the monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschenburg.²

Milten-
berg
taken.

At Prague also in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.³

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, and the 22d of October, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolstadt to be their preacher.⁴

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Gasper Tamber. Also another called George, a scrivener, who both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

(1) Ex Epist. Mart. Luth. [Opera. vol. vii. p. 495.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Crisp. et Pantal. [A fuller title of this latter very scarce work, is this, "Martyrum historia: hoc est maximarum per Europam persecutionum ac sanctorum Dei martyrum ceterarumque rerum insignium in ecclesia Christi his temporibus gestarum commentarii; auct. Henrico Pantaleone;" folio, Basilee, 1563. —Ed.]

(3) Ex Lud. Rab.

(4) Ex Rab. et Pantal.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John le Clerc, of Meaux, in France. *Henry VIII.*

Meaux is a city in France, ten leagues distant from Paris, where John Clerc was first apprehended and taken, A.D. 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be Antichrist; for which his punishment was this, that three several days he should be whipped, and afterwards have a mark imprinted on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother, being a christian woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ! and welcome be his prints and marks!"

A. D.
1524.
Clerc
scourged,
for calling
the pope
Anti-
christ.

Marked
in the
forehead.

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosoy in Brie, and from thence removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he remained a certain space, applying to his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation; where he, the day before the people of that city should go out to the suburbs, to worship certain blind idols near by (after an old use and custom amongst them received), being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lie broken upon the ground; at the sight whereof they, being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city agog, to search out the author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forasmuch as this aforesaid Clerc, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, was also seen somewhat late in the evening before, to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he, being suspected and examined upon the same, at once confessed the fact, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pinchers was violently plucked from his face; after that both his arms and his paps were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking on, it was a horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his pains: again to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift so to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of Psalm cxv.; "Simulacra eorum sunt argentum et aurum," &c. "Their images are silver and gold, the work only of man's hand," &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about A.D. 1524.¹

*See
Appendix.*

Taken for
casting
down
images.

Grievous
torments.

Constancy of this
blessed
martyr.

(1) Ex Pantal. et Crisp.

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1525.

John Castellane, Doctor of Divinity, a Martyr.

*See
Addenda.*

Castellane carried to the castle of Nomeny.

*See
Appendix.*

Castellane constant in his doctrine.

The same year, which was 1524, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after that he was called unto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Bar le Duc, also at Vittery¹ in Partoise, at Chalons in Champagne, and in the town of Vic, which is the episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz in Lorraine, after he had laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the city of Metz, in returning from thence was taken prisoner at Gorze by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nomeny. Whereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who, being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general as well in causes spiritual as temporal through the jurisdiction of the bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, being furnished with a letter and commission from the see of Rome, came to the said city of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the provost and the other justices and councillors of the city, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty. But John Castellane was kept still prisoner in the castle of Nomeny, and was most cruelly handled from the 4th day of May, until the 12th day of January; during all which time he persevered constant in the doctrine of the Son of God.² Whereupon he was carried from Nomeny to the town and castle of Vic, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine, so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to the custom and manner. And forasmuch as the form and manner of the sentence and process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety, in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth do use in their process against the children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible blindness that these unshamefaced catholics are blinded withal.

The Sentence of Degradation pronounced on Castellane.

Ex actis
Episcopali-
bus.

Concerning the process inquisitory, formed and given in form of an accusation against thee, John Castellane, priest, and religious man of the friars Eremites of the order of St. Austin; understanding likewise thy confession which thou hast made of thine own good will, maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and marking also besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made unto thee in the city of Metz, which thou, like unto the serpent Aspis, hast refused to hear, and given no ear unto: also considering thine answers made and reiterated unto our interrogatories, by means of thine oath, in which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confess thy sins

(1) "Vittery," Vitry-le-François.—Ed.

(2) Whosoever escape, the Christians are sure to suffer.

and mischievous offence : and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicolas Savin, doctor of divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered process against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws here present, who have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou, John Castellane, hast oftentimes, and in divers places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith, and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see ; and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before Almighty God : It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon-law, that such as through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we, sitting in our judgment-seat, declare in these writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do mete unto others, the same shall be measured to us again : we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively,¹ thee John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicated, with the most great excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of treason against the divine Majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith, and verity of the gospel ; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther,² a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned. And therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habit, also of thy ecclesiastical benefices, if thou hast any, and from all privilege of clergy : so we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful : and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded. That done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of this our sentence unto the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid.

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholic sermon also, the bishop of Nicopolis,³ sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment-seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane being prepared and made ready for his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterwards brought forth of the chapel by the priests who were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him ; and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, also the patine and the host ; all which things the said bishop who disgraced him took from him, saying, " We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead." Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, " By

Henry
VIII.A. D.
1525.

Dr. Castellane degraded.

See
Appendix.Priests
anointed
singers.

(1) Truly you say, for your measure is death definitive ; and therefore look you for the same measure again at God's hand.

(2) If Luther be to be noted of cruelty, who teacheth all men, and killeth no man, what then is to be noted in the pope, who killeth all God's children and teacheth none ?

(3) " Nicopolis." See the Appendix.—Ed.

Henry VIII.
 A.D. 1525.
 The chesille.
 The stole.

this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands." Then he took away from him the chesille, saying; "By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency." Then taking away the stole, he said; "Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood."

The gospel book.
 The dalmatic.
 The stole behind his back.
 The epistle book.
 Bennet and Collet.
 Exorcist, lectorship.
 The pope's clergy account the secular state ignominious and servile.
 Singing in the church.

The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the gospels, which the bishop took away, saying: "We take away from thee all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatic, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive thee of this Levitical order; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly; which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicate unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship." Then they proceeded to the disgrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the book of the epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the epistles in the church of God. And so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, they disgraded him from the order of Bennet and Collet,¹ from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the revery, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to disgrace him from his first tonsure, and taking away his surplice, said unto him, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take away from thee all clerkly habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we do depose and degrade thee from all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears, and began to clip his head, saying in this manner: "We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown, which is the roval sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice." The bishop also added these words: "That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work; wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God."

The disgrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz required of the notary an instrument or copy of the

(1) "Bennet and Collet," the acolyteship: see Appendix.—ED.

disgrading. Then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forsomuch as he which is disgraded, according to the institution of pope Innocent III., ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that disgraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus disgraded of all clerkly honour and privilege."

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1525.

This done, the bishop, after a certain manner, entreated the secular judge for him, saying: "My lord judge! we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body."¹ These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vic, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned the said Master John Castellane to be burned quick; which death he suffered the 12th of January, A. D. 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the verity, but also a great number who had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.²

It would fill another volume, to comprehend the acts and stories of all those who in other countries, at the rising of the gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every region almost hath its own history-writer, who sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travail, or to overcharge this volume therewith; only it shall suffice me to collect three or four histories, recorded by Æcolampadius and the rest, to bring it into a brief story, and so return to occupy myself with our own domestical matters here done at home.

The History of a good Pastor, murdered for preaching of the Gospel: written by John Æcolampadius.³

In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rustical clowns of the country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

A good priest murdered for evil will.

After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him; who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as though their coming had been to make good cheer: for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used oftentimes to resort unto his house familiarly. This priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After dinner was ended, and that the priest was yet at the table, thinking no hurt, the gentleman said to his servants, 'Take you this priest, our host, and hang him, and that without delay;

(1) Note here these persecutors, how they will seem outwardly to be lambs, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

(2) Pantaleon, pp. 40—42. The History of Johannes Diazius, which is inserted here in some editions, will be found in the place allotted to it by Foxe, in the History of "Martyrs who suffered in Germany," at page 387.—Ed.

(3) See Pantaleon, p. 46.—Ed.

Henry
VIII.

A. D.
1525.

Ungentleness in
a gentle-
man.

for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his prince.' The servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, 'God forbid that we should commit any such crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently; for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great an evil for a good turn, but especially to murder an innocent.' Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to flee, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, 'I beseech you show no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever showed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house.' But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience; protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that that was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, who maintained their people in their vicious living; and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should show example of faith, true religion, and soberness; but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, That it was not his part to reprove them, for so much as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an evil end.

Many
things
may be
pretend-
ed, but
religion is
ever the
cause why
good men
go to
wrack.

Kindness
unkindly
rewarded
with un-
kindness.

This good man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his servants still to accomplish their purpose (for it was resolved by the prince, that he should be put to death); and, turning himself unto the priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose to save his life. At last the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on. This good man, seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, 'Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me.'

This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal enemy. Now let every man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, they who commit the cruelty against the good, or the good men who do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their conscience, and the others obtain an immortal crown.

The like History of the Death of a certain Minister, named Master Peter Spengler, who was drowned: collected by Ceolampadius.

A descrip-
tion of a
good mi-
nister or
curate.

In a certain village named Schlatt, in the country of Brisois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his office and duty; being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of men, but especially of the bishop of Constance, with whom he was in great authority; peaceable and quiet with all men that he had to do withal. He quieted discords and contentions with a marvellous prudence, exhorting all men to mutual charity and love. In all assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole order of priests had been a long time

drowned. 'O good God,' said he, 'who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great errors, or that the holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses.¹ For he never well understood before (he said) that the gospel was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the cross, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests lived in great prosperity, and no man durst maintain any quarrel against them without danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the gospel should be displayed, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the faithful; that the bishops, who ought by their virtue and power to defend the word, were more barbarous and cruel than any tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present estate of the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth; seeing so many bodies of the faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have endured these years passed, even by those who call themselves Christians; and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good pastor, (considering with himself the laws and doctrine of the church of Rome to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage) to the end that he would not defile himself with fornication, married a maid of his, such a one as feared God; by whom afterwards he had many fair children.

About this time the people of the country had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went to monasteries and priests' houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under foot, or carried it away with them. One company of this rustical sort lodged themselves in the house of this good priest: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These roisters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, insomuch that they took away the very hose from his legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently entreated them, showing that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madness like beasts.

As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, 'I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to yourselves; for what madness is this? What meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between friend and foe? Who thus stirreth you up? What counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment? What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the gospel, and have no peace of the gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses ye never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true word of God. This your gospel is rather the gospel of the devil, than of God, who vexeth all the world with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all men, to avoid dissensions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, who will never suffer these evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the gospel, That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to others. You offend also all the nobility, and your lawful magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up sedition, to stir up others, and to disturb the state of the commonwealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich? and then shall one of you betray another.' These, with such other words, he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him 'old dotard.' Amongst all others, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner:

Henry VIII.

A.D.
1525.

He that seeketh to live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution.

A commotion of the Boors.

Cruelty and sedition never come to good end.

The true gospel teacheth no rebellion.

(1) The cross discerneth between true Christians and counterfeit.

Henry
VIII.

A.D.
1525.

'O master curate! we have been long deceived by your selling of masses, by fearing us with purgatory, by your dîrges and trentals; and so have we been spoiled; wherefore we do nothing, now, but require again the money which you robbed us of.' And so mocking and scorning him they departed.

After this sedition of the peasants was partly appeased, their armour being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villages, and executed; this good pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain soldiers, who bound him hand and foot with a great rope, before his wife and children, and so set him upon a horse, and led him away to Friburg. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation were there! it would have moved any heart, were it as hard as a flint, to a doleful compassion; especially to see the barbarous and spiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty showed by these proud popish soldiers against the innocent priest. Such beastly tyrants the world is never without: of such godly ministers we have had but a few.

The people, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men, but only the women, whom the soldiers willed to go home again, and that their men should come forth and keep the town; but their men durst not appear. Then from Friburg shortly after they conveyed him to Ensisheim.

Cruelty
without
cause.

After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible torments in all parts of his body, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause that they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, that he had married a wife secretly in his own house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to object against him; neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all them that came to comfort him. But there were divers monks and priests, who troubled him very sorely with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God; seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. 'And I,' said he, 'shall be an acceptable sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who, in this behalf, hath given me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them who thirst for innocent blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even Him, unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of men; for it is said, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.' And forasmuch as he was a very lean man, he added this moreover, saying, 'It is all one; for shortly I must have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangeth to my bones. I know well that I am a mortal, and a corruptible worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ. I have deserved, through my manifold sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the cross, and hath died upon the cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'

The
water
miraculous-
ly
coloured,
with
blood
where he
was
drowned.

There were present by him certain naughty persons who could not endure to hear this godly exhortation, but made a sign unto the hangman to cast him down into the river. After he was thrown down, he moved for a certain space in the water, in such sort that the river whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent blood was that day shed. Those who were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonished, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding

no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the town of Ensisheim, A.D. 1525.

These things I did understand by one who did behold them with his eyes The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins!¹

*Henry
VIII.*

A. D.
1525.

Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the pope's church, he was hated and despised of the rulers, lawyers, and all other papists through the whole country about; but especially of priests, monks, and friars. And though the life of the gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the pope's friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical people of the country rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their own destruction; of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends, to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned, to condemn the innocent; and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason hereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor man also, whose story by Æcolampadius is thus described:

Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to Death; collected by the said John Æcolampadius.

There was (saith he) a certain man of the country, who in my judgment was a good man, and a lover of justice, and a mortal enemy of all the cruel exactions of the gentlemen who oppressed the poor people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried 'alarm,' when a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those who had been the authors of that sedition. This poor man was taken by policy, and so upholden with fair promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into prison, where he was a long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But, after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the pinbank, laying divers and many grievous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the truss of the cord² the space of six hours hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little draw-

(1) Ex Æcolamp. [or rather, Ex Pantaleone, p. 48.—Ed.]

(2) 'The truss of the cord' is a certain hanging up by the hands behind, having a weighty stone fastened at their feet.

*See
Appendix.*

*Henry VIII.**A. D.*
1525.

ing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man (whom they sought by all means to destroy), in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

The
innocent
man
again
torment-
ed.
False
witness.

Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose water; and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might, even of force, extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman (a man surely worthy of his office), who left no kind of cruelty unpractised; yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. Yet these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him; thus concluding, that he was worthy of death, because he had cried 'alarm' after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the hangman and a friar into the prison.

He had
rather
pine in
prison
than to
come into
the
papists'
hands.

In the mean time this poor man thought with himself, that they would have showed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison. Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out; although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain councillors who promised to perform his request,¹ and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O miserable and wretched man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived; for my latter hour is at hand. I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard.' The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. 'Poor man,' said the friar, 'thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God; therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven.' The poor man answered, 'Thou wicked friar! get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy portues.

The
christian
poor man
refuseth
the friar's
wooden
cross.

The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman, being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure. This foolish friar had no other consolation to comfort him

(1) The promises of the papists are not to be trusted.

withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, 'Behold thy Saviour who died for thee; look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted.' Then said the poor man, 'I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thou away from me, thou naughty person! with thy marmoset of wood; my Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my soul to eternal death.' The friar crossed himself, showing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people, his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the man had been a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cried 'Alarm,' even in the night, when all men were at rest.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with glaves and halberts hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the hangman bade him kneel down; but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the people, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked judges. 'Those,' said he, 'who know me, shall be sufficient good witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when all ways both of God and man are turned topsy turvy.¹ I was adherent to the tumult and sedition of the men of the country, as many others were, who dwell thereabout. But what then? are not there also many gentlemen who followed the peasants' army, and many strong towns which went also with them? I was not the author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any man to move any broil or tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our gentlemen what we should do, when the bands of the peasants were assembled in the fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, nor was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the countrymen were risen, nor wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments?' He continued a long time declaring his innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and at the commandment of the judge, strake off his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good man of the country ended his days, against whom the false judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those who suffer for his name.²

The Story and Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned in Lorraine.

Wolfgangus Schuch, coming to a certain town in Lorraine, bearing the name of St. Hippolyte, and being received in the said town to be their pastor, laboured by all means how to extirpate out of the hearts of the people idolatry, and superstition. This, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire; insomuch that the observation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the mass, in the same town was utterly abolished: so reformatable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection they had to their minister. It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine (under whose dominion they were), through the swift report of the adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytanes to the duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1525.

The crucifix of wood called a Saviour.

The innocent man condemned for ill will.

This blessed martyr beheaded.

False and pernicious tongues.

(1) Nihil peccavit genus, sed lupus esurit.

(2) Ex Johan. Ecclampad. [Pantaleon, pp. 51—54.—Ed.]

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1525.

The duke of Lorraine threat- eneth the town of St. Hippo- lyte.

Letter of Wolfgangus to him.

and faction of the pope, went about to reject and shake off all authority and power of princes, and all superior governors. By means of which sinister report they incensed the prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the duke his epistle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the gospel.

In that epistle first he excused the people to be innocent and blameless, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed, and also punished, for their false rumours and forged slanders raised up against them. After that he opened and explained the cause and state of the gospel, and of our salvation, consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son; comparing also the same doctrine of the gospel with the confused doctrine of the church of Rome. That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to princes here and potestates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times prest and most ready to obey, with all service and duty, &c.

See Appendix.

But with this epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adverse party took more effect to win credit with the duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the town should come in any danger for his cause, the good man, of his own accord came to the city of Nancy (which is the head town of Lorraine), there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliver the town of St. Hippolyte out of peril, drawing all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under custody of the churlish and cruel keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the prison, nor with the hardness of his keepers, nor yet with compassion for his wife and for his children, of whom he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the house of the Grey Friars, to profess there his faith; where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all those that stood against him.

His constancy unmovable.

Is had to the Grey Friars.

A right description of a fairly Silenus or Cylops.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance; a man utterly rude, and a contemner of all civility and honesty; who, being long confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish out of the court and country of Lorraine all learned men; neither could he abide any person who seemed to know more than his elders knew before. The sum of all his divinity was this, that it was sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. And thus was the duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes in talk with

his familiars would confess. This Bonaventure, being chief judge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but 'Thou heretic!' 'Judas!' 'Beelzebub!' &c. Wolfgangus, bearing patiently those private injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation, by the Scriptures confuting or rather confounding his adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the margin into their monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known; who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the church, and the sacrament of the mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122d Psalm, "Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus," &c.

Henry VIII.
A. D.
1526.

The disputation with the friars.

The sentence given against him by the duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus said.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops, sitting at the door, cried out to him, "Thou heretic! do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy saints;" showing to him the idols standing at the friar's gate: to whom Wolfgangus answered again, "Thou hypocrite! thou painted wall! the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light." When they were come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished or shortened? to whom he said "No," bidding them to do their will; "for" (said he) "as God hath been with me hitherto, so I trust now he will not leave me when I shall have most need of him;" concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entered into the place heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the smoke and the flame took from him both voice and life, August 19th, A. D. 1525.

Note the quiet and joyful death of this blessed martyr.

The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished as much the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the commendator of St. Anthony of Viennois, who sat as spiritual judge over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his fellow, who was abbot of Clarilocus,¹ and suffragan to the bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the coming of the duchess of Denmark into the city of Nancy, stricken with sudden fear at the crack of the guns, fell down and died, as those who were present and saw it, have made faithful relation of the same.²

Just judgment of God upon persecutors.
See Appendix.

John Huglein, Martyr, burned at Merseburg.

Of John Huglein, priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of John Sleidan, in lib. vi., who the next year following, A. D. 1526, was

(1) 'Clarilocus,' Clair-lieu. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Ludov. Rabo et Pantal. [p. 54.]

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1527.

Promise of marriage broken with John Frederic, duke of Saxony. The pope's church keeps no promise with heretics.

burned at Merseburg,¹ by the bishop of Constance, for that he did not hold with the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto John Frederic, son and heir to the prince and elector of Saxony, was promised the lady Katherine, the emperor's younger sister in marriage, and writings were made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by God's providence into Saxony, they swerved from their covenants; and Hawnart, who was then the emperor's ambassador in Germany, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with heretics: wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the council of Constance, as before you have partly heard in the story of John Huss, and of the emperor Sigismund.

George Carpenter of Emerich, Martyr, burned in the Town of Munich in Bavaria.

The eighth day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the town of Munich in Bavaria, which was this: A certain man, named George Carpenter of Emerich, was there burnt. When he was fetched out of the prison called Falken-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to instruct and teach him; whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles.

Articles laid against George Carpenter.

I. That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

II. That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

III. That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

IV. That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself, in baptism, doth give grace.

Persuaded to recant.

These four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. Peter in the town of Munich, saying, "My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?" Whereunto he answered, "If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children?" Then said the schoolmaster, "Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered: "My wife and my children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the market-place, saying, "Good George! believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Whereunto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of

The love of God preferred before wife, children, and liberty.

(1) Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. vi. [et Pantaleon. lib. iii. p. 60.—Ed.]

the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us." Then said the schoolmaster moreover, "What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan?" Whereunto he answered, and showed what was the true use of baptism; and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan; and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. "The same Christ," said he, "will I confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe."

Henry VIII.

A. D.
1527.

After this came unto him one Master Conrad Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our lady in Munich, a preacher, saying: "George! if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent;" whereunto George Carpenter answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him." Then said the schoolmaster unto him, "Do not put the matter on that hazard, but chioose unto you some good christian brother, Master Conrad or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him." Whereunto he answered, "Nay, not so, for it would be too long." Then Master Conrad began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven;" whereunto Carpenter answered, "Truly thou art our Father, and no other: this day I trust to be with thee." Then Master Conrad went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world!" Then said Master Conrad, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom." Then said Conrad, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine." Then said Conrad, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The only living bread Jesus Christ shall be my food." Then said Conrad, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then said Master Conrad, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Whereunto Carpenter answered, "O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O my God! in thee alone do I trust; in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature; albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." In this manner he answered to every word; which answers of his, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

Mark here these subtle serpents, which when they cannot remove this good man from his faith, go about to bring him in doubt thereof.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered; "It were a very hard matter for me, if that I, who am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, Where

The hearty confession of Carpenter.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1527.

Whatsoever a man loveth above God, that he makes his idol. Carpenter refuseth to be prayed for after his death.

The constant behaviour of Carpenter at his death.

thy heart is, there is also thy treasure [Luke xii.]; and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol." Then said Master Conrad unto him, "George! dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?" He answered; "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true christian faith: but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers."

When the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, "This shall be my sign and token; that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

Behold, good reader! what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went unto the fire. "In the midst," saith he, "of the town this day will I confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus!" "Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, "Jesus!" "Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.¹

See Appendix.

The History of Leonard Keyser, Martyr, burned at Schardingham.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Master Leonard Keyser, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous house. This man, at what time he was a student in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when as, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for the which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

Articles against him.

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession.

The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of clarity, which serveth when any man hath offended

his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by that which is written in Matt. xviii. *Henry VIII.*

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church. A. D. 1527.

And forasmuch as all this was contrary to the bull of pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors who sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau; the suffragans of Ratisbon and Passau; also Dr. Eckius, being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to have his judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also John Frederic, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauenburg and Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the 13th of August; where Christopher Frenkinger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from duke William of Bavaria, that forthwith, tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the Almain tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, "O Lord Jesus! remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power."

Perse-
cutors

Hasty
judgment
against
Keyser.

Then the wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, "O Jesus! I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me;" and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. And because the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth on the 16th day of August, A.D. 1527.¹

The mar-
tyrdom of
Leonard.
Keyser.

See
Appendix.

Wendelmuta, Widow, Martyr, at the Hague.

In Holland also the same year, 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchenstein. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden; and shortly after was brought from thence to the Hague, the 15th day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country; where was present Hochstratus, lord president of the said country, who also sat upon her the 17th day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred and other honest women, were suffered to

(1) Ex 6. Tomo Operum Lutheri. [Pantalcon, p. 63.—Ed.]

*Henry**VIII.*

A. D.

1527.

Religion
should be
professed
as well
with
tongue
as with
heart.

persuade with her; among whom there was a certain noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said widow being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said: "My Wendelmute! why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: "Ah," said she, "you know not what you say. It is written, With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation," &c. [Rom. x.] And thus she, remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, on the 20th day of November was condemned, by sentence given as against a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

Wooden
gods not
to be wor-
shipped.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a monk there had brought out a blind cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; "I worship," said she, "no wooden God, but only that God which is in heaven:" and so, with a merry and joyful countenance, she went to the stake, desiring the executioner to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself into the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes; instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven. A. D. 1527.¹

Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne.

See
Appendix.

In the number of these German martyrs, are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach; two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. These two, A. D. 1529 (for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the pope's traditions and ceremonies), after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were put to death and burned in Cologne, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the fault being put upon certain divines, who at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons should pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease: for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.²

The blood
of mar-
tyrs spilt
to stop
the
sweating
sickness
at Co-
logne.

A PREFACE TO THE TABLE FOLLOWING.

If thou well remember in reading this book of stories, loving reader! it was before mentioned and declared how in the year of grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's passion, as the crown, cross, nails, scourges, and spear, were seen in Germany upon the garments of men and women.³ This miraculous oment, passing the ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God,

(1) Ex Pantal. [p. 65.]

(2) Ex Com. Johan. Sleidan. lib. vi. p. 780. [Pantal. p. 66.]

(3) Page 257.—Ed.

no doubt, to foreshow the great and terrible persecution, which afterwards fell in the country of Germany, and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so, if the number and names of all those good men and women, who suffered in the same persecution, with their acts and doings, should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we have in hand; partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious table, the names of the persecutors, and of the martyrs who suffered, and the causes thereof, with as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those writers of their own country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same table, as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the countries in which these blessed saints of Christ did suffer; I have divided the order of the table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in France, also in Spain, with other foreign countries more; showing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own story-writers, from whence they be collected: which table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full history of our own matters, and of the martyrs who suffered here in England.

German History.

A.D.
1524
to
1555.

A TABLE OF THE NAMES AND CAUSES OF SUCH MARTYRS AS GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL, IN GERMANY, FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY, AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES, SINCE LUTHER'S TIME: IN WHICH TABLE ARE CONTAINED THE PERSECUTORS, THE MARTYRS, AND THE CAUSES OF THEIR MARTYRDOM.

The Martyrs of Germany.

Of divers who suffered in Germany for the witness of the gospel partly some rehearsal is made before, as of Voes and Esch, of Sutfen, John Castellane, Peter Spengler, with a certain godly minister, and another simple man of the country, mentioned in Ecolampadius: also of them in Dithmarsch and Prague, of M. George of Halle, Gasper Tambert, George of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, John Huglein, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmuta, Peter Flisteden, Adolphus Clarebach, and others. The residue follow in order of this table here to be showed.

Persecutors: Charles the Emperor; also two Servants of a Butcher, who did apprehend one Nicholas at Antwerp, A. D. 1524.

Nicholas of Antwerp, a Martyr.

The curate of Melz, by Antwerp, had used to preach to a great number of people without that town. The emperor, hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermost garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty guilders, whoso would take the priest. Afterwards, when the people were gathered, and the curate not there, this Nicholas stepped up in his place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by these two servants of a butcher, was put in a sack and drowned by the Crane at Antwerp, A.D. 1524.

See Appendix.

German History.

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

Persecutors : Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, Princess of Holland ; also M. Montane, M. Rosemund, and M. Anchusanus, inquisitors ; also M. Jodocus Lovering, vicar of Meehlen, A. D. 1524. Johannes Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a martyr.

See Appendix.

The story of Pistorius is largely set forth by Gnatheus. First, he was a priest, then he married ; after that he preached, coming from Wittenberg. He spake against the mass and pardons, and against the subtle abuses of priests. He was committed to prison with ten malefactors, whom he did comfort ; and to one, being half naked, and in danger of cold, he gave his gown. His father visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but bade him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, having a fool's coat put upon him. His fellow-prisoners at his death sung 'Te Deum.' Coming to the stake, he gave his neck willingly to the band, wherewith he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, 'O death, where is thy victory?' [1 Cor. xv.]

Persecutor : Sebastian Braitenstein, abbot of Kempten in Suabia, A. D. 1525. Matthias Weibell, Schoolmaster, a Martyr.

For saying somewhat against the abbot's first mass, and against the carrying about relics, through procurement of the abbot he was hanged by Kempten in Suabia.¹

Persecutors : Certain Noblemen, after the commotion of the Countrymen in Germany, A. D. 1525.

A certain Godly Priest, a Martyr.

This priest being commanded to come and give good counsel to sixteen countrymen that should be beheaded, afterwards was bid himself to kneel down to have his head cut off ; no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but only from mere hatred against the gospel.²

Persecutor : The name of the Persecutor appears not in the Story. George Scherrer, a Martyr, at Radstat, by Saltsburg. A. D. 1528.

A strange miracle of God in manifesting his gospel.

After this George had instructed the people in knowledge of the gospel in Radstat, ten miles distant from Saltsburg, he was accused by his adversaries, and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith, which Matthias Illyricus hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burned alive ; but means were made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire. Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, 'That you may know,' said he, 'that I die a true Christian, I will give you a manifest sign ;' and so he did by the power of the Lord : for when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, so continued the space while one might well eat an egg. After that, softly it turned itself upon the back, and crossed the right foot over the left³ ; at the sight whereof, they that saw it were in a great marvel. The magistrates, who before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, seeing this miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other christian men's bodies ; and many by that example were moved to believe the gospel. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his gospel in the midst of persecution, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen.⁴

Persecutor : Balthasar, official.⁵

Henry Fleming at Dornick,⁶ 1535, a Martyr.

This Henry a friar, sometime of Flanders, forsook his habit, and married a wife ; who, being offered life of Balthasar, if he would confess his wife to be a harlot, denied so to do, and so was burnt at Dornick.

(1) Pantaleon, p. 58.—Ed.

(2) Ex Johan. Gastio. (3) See Appendix. (4) Pantaleon, p. 68.—Ed.

(5) See Appendix.

(6) ^a Dornick, Tournay, from the Latin "Tornacum."—Ed.

Persecutor : A Popish Priest, and a wicked Murderer.

A good Priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539, a Martyr.

*German
History.*

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

There was a certain wicked priest, a notorious adulterer, a dicer, and a vile drunkard, given to all wickedness and ungraciousness, without all fear, regarding nothing what mischief he did : moreover, a man fit and ready to serve the affection of the papists at all turns. It chanced that this priest was received and lodged in the house of another priest dwelling not far from Basil, who was a good man, and a sincere favourer of the gospel.

This drunken priest, sitting at supper, was so drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or else feigned himself so drunk on purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischief. So it followed, that this wretch, after his first sleep, rose out of his bed, and brake all the glass windows in his chamber, threw down the stone, and rent all his host's books that he found. The host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any thieves or enemies that he was in fear of? desiring him to show what he ailed. But as soon as the good host had opened his chamber-door, the wicked cut-throat ran at him with his sword to slay him. The host, after the wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the neighbours coming in, the murderer was taken and bound : and yet all the friends and kinsfolks that the good priest had, could not make that miserable caitif, that was the murderer, to be executed ; the superior powers did so take his part, saying, that he should be sent to his bishop. The townsmen did grievously cry out and complain at the bolstering out such manifest villany : so did also the nobleman, that was the lord of the page, saying, that so many good men and married priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had to the bishop ; but a murderer might escape unpunished. It was answered to them again, that what the superior powers would do, they had nothing to do withal : the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rustical people. The superior power had authority to govern as they would (said they) ; it was their parts only to obey. And so was he sent bound to the bishop, and shortly after dismissed, having also a greater benefice given him for his worthy act ; for he so avaulted himself, that he had slain a Lutheran priest.¹

A good
priest
martyred
in his
own
house.

Persecutors : Charles, the Emperor's procurator ; Dr. Enchusanus inquisitor ; and Latomus.

Twenty-eight Christian Men and Women of Louvain, A. D. 1543, Martyrs.

When certain of the city of Louvain were suspected of Lutheranism, the emperor's procurator came thither from Brussels to make inquisition. After this inquisition made, certain bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their beds, plucked from their wives and children, and divided into divers prisons ; through the terror whereof, many citizens revolted from the doctrine of the gospel, and returned again to idolatry. But twenty-eight there were who remained constant in that persecution ; unto whom the doctors of Louvain, Enchusanus the inquisitor especially, and Latomus sometimes, with others, came and disputed ; thinking no less, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But so strongly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his saints, that the others rather went confounded away themselves.

When no disputation could serve, that which lacked in cunning, they supplied with torments, by enforcing and afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one Paul a priest, about the age of sixty years ; whom the rectors of the university, with their colleagues, accompanied with a great number of bills and glaves, brought out of prison to the Austin Friars, where, after many foul words of the rector, he was degraded. But, at length, for fear of death, he began to stagger in some points of his confession, and so was had out of Louvain, and condemned to perpetual prison, which was a dark and stinking dungeon ; where he was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any man to come at him ; commanded only to be fed with bread and water. After

(1) Ex tom. ii. Convivialium Sermonum Johau. Gastii, et ex Pantal. [p. 81.]

*German History.*A. D.
1524
to
1555.Two
martyrs
burned at
Louvain.

that, other two were there, who, because they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their martyrdom.

Then was there an old man, and two aged women brought forth: of whom the one was called Antonia, born of an ancient stock in that city. These also were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried quick; which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other prisoners who were not condemned to death, were deprived of their goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the church, and there kneeling, with a taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness: and they that refused so to do, and to abjure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire.¹

Persecutor: The name of the Persecutor appeareth not in the Story.

Master Perseval, a Martyr at Louvain, A. D. 1544.

See Appendix.

Not long after this there was one Master Perseval, in the same university of Louvain, singularly well learned, who for reprehending certain popish superstitions, and something speaking in commendation of the gospel, was thrown into prison. Then being accused of Lutheranism, because he stood to the same, and would not condescend to the pope's erroneous faction, he was adjudged to perpetual prison, there to be fed only with bread and water; which punishment he took patiently for Christ's sake: nevertheless certain citizens, taking compassion of him, sent him wine and beer. But his keepers being charged under a great penalty, durst let nothing come unto him. At last what became of him no man could learn, or understand. Some judge that he was either famished for hunger, or else that he was secretly drowned.²

Persecutor: the Drossart, or chief Magistrate in that Country, a great Persecutor.

Justus Imsberg, a Martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1544.

Francis
Encenas
prisoner.

Justus Imsberg, a skinner of Louvain, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found in his house to have the New Testament, and certain sermons of Luther; for which he was committed, and the gaoler commanded that he should speak with none. There were at the same time in the lower prison under him, Giles,³ and Francis Encenas a Spaniard; who secretly, having the doors left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the cause of righteousness. Thus is the providence of the Lord never lacking to his saints in time of necessity. Shortly after came the doctors and masters of Louvain, to examine him of certain articles touching religion, as of the pope's supremacy, sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and of the sacrament. Whereunto when he had answered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through intercession made to the queen, his burning was pardoned, and he was only beheaded.⁴

Justus
perit de
terra.

Persecutor: The Parson of Brussels.

Giles Tilleman, a Martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1544.

Good
works
going
with a
lively
faith.

This Giles was born in Brussels, of honest parents. By his occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a cutler. In this occupation he was so expert and cunning, that he waxed thereby rich and wealthy. Coming to the age of thirty, he began to receive the light of the gospel, through the reading of the holy Scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, so was he of nature humane, mild, and pitiful, passing all others in those parts. Whatsoever he had that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the poor, and only lived by his science. Some he refreshed with his meat; some with clothing; to some he gave his shoes; some he helped with household stuff; to others he ministered wholesome exhortation of good doctrine. One poor woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie in, to whom he brought his own bed, himself contented to lie in the straw.

The said Giles being detected by a priest or parson of Brussels, was taken at Louvain for that religion which the pope doth call heresy; where his adversaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their doctrine, and

(1) Ex Fran. Encenate. [Pantaleon, p. 96.]

(2) Ibid. [See Appendix.]

(3) Giles Tilleman, mentioned immediately after as a martyr: see at infra, p. 43P.—Ed.

(4) Ex Fran. Encenate. [See Appendix.]

to make him abjure. But as he was a man well reasoned, and singularly witted, they went away many times with shame. Thus being detained eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged; where he comforted divers who were there in prison (among whom was also Francis Encenas), exhorting them to the constancy of the truth, unto the crown which was prepared for them. At the table he ministered unto them all, being contented himself with a few scraps which they left. In his prayers he was so ardent, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lifted up by the arms; and then gently he would speak unto them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

Certain of the Grey Friars sometimes were sent unto him by two and two, to reduce him; but he would always desire them to depart from him, for he was at a point; and when the friars at any time did miscall him, he ever held his peace at such private injuries; insomuch that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they talked of any religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being set open, but he would not, for bringing his keeper in peril.

At length, about the month of January, he was brought to another prison, to be constrained with torments to confess purgatory, and to utter more of his fellows: but no enforcement would serve. Wherefore, upon the 22d of January, he was condemned to the fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the country; for openly they durst not condemn him for fear of the people, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorify the Lord.

As he was brought to the place of burning, where he saw a great heap of wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and to be given to the poor: a little (said he) would suffice him. Also seeing a poor man coming by, as he went, that lacked shoes, he gave his shoes unto him; better (said he) so to do, than to have his shoes burnt, and the poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake, the hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying, that there was no such need that his pain should be mitigated; 'For I fear not,' said he, 'the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded.' And thus the blessed martyr, lifting up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by. After that time, when the friars of that city would go about for their alms, the people would say, It was not meet for them to receive alms with bloody hands. This history you shall find more copiously described in Francis Encenas.¹

German History.

A. D.
1521
to
1555.

The humble heart of Giles. Fervency of prayer. Blasphemy of the papists.

The zeal of the people against the bloody friars.

Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the Friars and Priests thereof;

As Charles the emperor did lie in Gaunt, the friars and doctors there obtained, that the edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. This being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expelled, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, or had not their goods confiscated: neither was there any respect for age or sex. At Gaunt especially, many there were of the head men, who, for religion sake, were burned.²

Afterwards the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow,³ and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country about into the city, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual prison: whereby all the prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing: to the great sorrow of all those who knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood. The story hereof is at large set forth by Francis

(1) Ex Franc. Encen [Pantaleon, p. 101.] (2) Ibid. (3) 'Hennegow,' Hainault.—ED.

*German History.*A.D.
1524
to
1555.

Encenas, a notable learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: whose book, written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basil.¹

Persecutors: The Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.

Martin Hœurblock, Fishmonger at Gaunt, a Martyr, A.D. 1545.

This Martin ever almost to his later age was a man much given to all wickedness and fleshly life, so long as he continued a follower of the pope's superstition and idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occasion of a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance of his former life, he went out of Gaunt for the space of three months, seeking the company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he, being more groundedly instructed, returned again to the city of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans, who knew him before so beneficial unto them, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him to visit the captives in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm those in the word of God who went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in bands.

After that, with sharp and grievous torments they would have constrained him to utter others of the same religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detecting and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second table of God's law, then he would not refuse to prefer the honour of God before the safeguard of his brethren. Then the friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, 'seeing,' said they, 'it is but a naked sacrament, as you say?' To whom he answered, that the elements thereof were naked, but the sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being received after the institution of Christ, do now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, 'Who is he,' said Martin, 'that dare alter the same?' Then was he brought before the council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead; for which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verleplace, all his goods being confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, 'Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire.' 'It is not in you,' said Martin again, 'to judge.' For this the friars afterwards were so hated, that many bills and rhymes were set forth in divers places against them.²

See
Appendix.

Persecutors: The Council of Flanders.

Nicholas Van Poule, and John de Buck and his wife; Martyrs at Gaunt, A.D. 1545.

The next day after the burning of Martin aforesaid, which was the 9th of May, these three also were burned for the same causes for which the way was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the woman was buried alive. All of them took their martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulness.

Persecutors: the same Council.

Ursula, and Maria, virgins of noble stock, Martyrs at Delden, A.D. 1545.

Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Deventer, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned; who, after diligent frequenting of churches and sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended,

(1) John Oporine, or "Johannes Oporinus," was the printer of Foxe's Latin Edition of the *Act and Monuments*, published at Basle in 1559.—Ed.

(2) *Ex Pantaleone* [p. 108. His martyrdom took place May 8th.—Ed.]

that seeing the benefit of our salvation cometh only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he useth to sell to the people for money, was needless. First Mary, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God; at whose constancy the judges did greatly marvel.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, that she was guilty of no error, nor defended any thing but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole, lying upon the ground white; which certain good Christians privily took up in the night, and buried. Thus God many times sheweth his power in the midst of tribulations.¹

German History

A. D.
1521
to
1555.

A miraculous work of God, in the dead bodies of these two virgins.

Persecutors: The Parson of St. Katharine's; Dr. Tapert, and William Clericken, Ruler of Mechelen.

Andreas Thiessen, and Katharine his wife; also Nicholas Thiessen, and Francis Thiessen, their sons, Martyrs at Mechelen, A.D. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechelen, of his wife Katharine had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery: wherefore being hated and persecuted by the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. This being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother with her four children should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, who would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and condemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their Master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice 'Credo in unum Deum,' &c. they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, 'Ah!' said he, 'what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?' Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.²

Francis and Nicholas constant in Christ

Persecutors: The names of their accusers appear not in the authors. Marion, wife of Adrian a Tailor, Martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

In the same persecution against Bruley and his company in Dornick, was apprehended also one Adrian, and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble,

See Appendix.

(1) Ex. Lud. Rab.; Pantul. [p. 110.] &c.

(2) Ex Phil. Melancth.

German History.

A. D.

1521

to

1555.

Marion
buried
quick.*See
Appendix.*

as also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the council of Worms against the Lutherans, mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for fear gave back from the truth, and was but only beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being inclosed in an iron grate formed in shape of a pasty, was laid in the earth and buried quick, after the usual punishment of that country for women. When the adversaries first told her that her husband had relented, she believed them not; and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before.¹

Persecutors: The Magistrates of Dornick or Tournay.

Master Peter Bruley, Preacher, a Martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg, who at the earnest request of faithful brethren came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick, in Flanders; where he most diligently preached the word of God unto the people in houses, the doors standing open. Whereupon when the magistrates of Dornick had shut the gates of the town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let down to the ditch ready to take his way, one of them that let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, caused mawares a stone to slip out of the wall, which falling upon him brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchmen complaining of his wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose providence he was there staid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison, he wrote his own confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. He wrote also another epistle unto them that were in persecution; another also to all the faithful; also another letter to his wife, the same day that he was burned. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commissioners at Brussels, that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. Although the priests and friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it. The letters of Duke Frederic, and of the Landgrave, came to entreat for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.²

God's secret working in disposing the ways of his servants.

The martyrdom of Bruley.

Persecutors: The Senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.

Peter Miocius, a Silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, Martyrs, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

The coming of Master Peter Bruley into the country of Flanders, did exceed- ing much good among the brethren, as appeared by divers other good men, and namely by this Peter Miocius, who was, by his occupation, a silk-weaver. This Peter, before he was called to the gospel, led a wicked life, given to much ungraciousness, and almost to all kinds of vice. But after the taste of the gospel began to work in him, so clean it altered him from that former man, that he excelled all others in godly zeal and virtue. In his first examination he was asked, whether he was one of the scholars of Peter Bruley? He said he was, and that he had received much fruit by his doctrine. 'Wilt thou then defend his doctrine,' said they? 'Yea,' said he, 'for that it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New.' And for this he was let down into a deep dungeon under the castle-ditch, full of toads and filthy vermin. Shortly after, the senate, with certain friars, came again to examine him, to see whether they could convert him: to whom he answered and said, that when he before had lived such an ungodly life, they never spake a word against him; but now, for savouring and favouring the word of God, they were so inveterate against him, that they sought his blood. Among them was one Dr. Hasarde, who asked him if he did not seem to himself more wicked now, than ever he was before? But he,

Crucity showed on Christ's servants

(1) Ex Pant. lib. iv. [p. 166.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Luc. lib. vi [apud Pant. pp. 84—96.—Ed.]

setting the friar at light, bade him 'Avaunt friar!' saying, that he had to talk with the senate, and not with him. The senate then began to examine him of certain articles of religion. To whom, as he was about to answer boldly and expressly to every point, they interrupting him, bade him say in two words, either yea or nay. 'Then,' said he, 'if ye will not suffer me to answer for myself in matters of such importance, send me to my prison again, among my toads and frogs, which will not interrupt me, while I talk with my Lord and my God.' The boldness of his spirit and courage, as it made some to gnash their teeth, so some it made to wonder, and ministered to some great confirmation.

German History.

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

There was also one Bergiban at the same time in prison, who had been a forward man, and a great doer in the gospel, before the coming down of Bruley; who, being also sought for at the taking of Bruley, and being then not found at home (either by chance not knowing, or else he conveyed himself out of the way for fear), conceived thereof such sorrow in his mind, that afterwards neither his wife nor children, nor any friends else could stay him, but he would needs offer himself to the judges, saying unto the ruler, being asked why he came, 'The magistrates came to seek me,' said he, 'and now I am come to know what they would.' Hereupon the ruler, being sorry for his coming, yet, notwithstanding, committed him to prison, where he remained constant a certain while. But after the commissioners had threatened him with cruel torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver and shrink from the truth. At the fair words of the false friars and priests (to have his punishment changed, and to be beheaded), he was fain to grant unto their biddings and requests; whereupon the adversaries, taking their advantage, came to Miocius, and told him of Bergiban's retractation; willing him to do the like. But he, stoutly persisting in the truth, endured to the fire, where he, having powder put to his breast, was so put to death and dispatched. The friars, hearing the crack of the powder upon his breast, told the people, that the devil came out of him and carried away his soul.¹

Persecutor: A certain Prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of Pannonia.

A Priest of Germany, a Martyr.

Johannes Gastius writeth of a prince, but doth not name him, who put out the eyes of a certain priest in Germany for no other cause, but for that he said the mass to be no sacrifice, in the sense that many priests do take it. Neither did the cruel prince immediately put him to death, but first kept him in prison a long time, afflicting him with divers torments. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. First, they shaved the crown of his head; then rubbed it hard with salt, that the blood came running down his shoulders. After that they rased and pared the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no savour of the holy oil might remain. At last the patient and godly martyr, four days after, yielded up his life and spirit.²

The martyrdom of a good priest.

Persecutors: Alphonsus Diazus, a Spaniard; Petrus Malvenda, the Pope's Prolocutor at Ratisbon, a Spaniard; the Emperor's Confessor, a Black Friar, a Spaniard; also Marquina.

John Diazus, Spaniard, a Martyr, killed by his own Brother at Neuberg, in Germany, A.D. 1546.

Of this John Diazus, the full process and history is set forth in Latin, wherein the whole circumstance is debated at large, whereof the brief sum is this: John Diazus, a Spaniard born, first being at Paris thirteen years, from thence removed to Geneva, then to Basil, and after to Strasburg: from whence he was sent ambassador with Bucer and others, to the council at Ratisbon, where he, talking with Peter Malvenda his countryman, the pope's factor, so declared his religion unto him, that Malvenda wrote to the friar, who was the emperor's confessor touching the said John Diazus; at the opening and reading of which letters, one Marquina, another Spaniard, was present. Upon this

Alphonsus Diazus came from Rome to kill his brother.

(1) Ex Lud. Rab. et aliis.

(2) Ex Johan. Gastio, Conviv. Serino. lib. ii.

*German History*A. D.
1524
to
1555.*See Appendix.*

it followed, whether by this confessor, or by Marquina, that Alphonsus Diazius, brother to John Diazius, who was one of the pope's lawyers in Rome, had knowledge given him of his brother John.

When the communication of Ratisbon was dissolved and broken up, John Diazius, from Ratisbon, went to the city of Neuberg, within the dominion of Otto Henry, Palatine, about the expedition of Bucer's book there to be printed. As John Diazius was there occupied, it was not long before Alphonsus, his brother, was come from Rome to Ratisbon, where Malvenda was, bringing with him a pestilent cut-throat, a notorious ruffian or homicide, belonging to the city of Rome. Malvenda and Alphonsus, consulting together about the dispatch of their devilish purpose, first laboured to hunt out, by the friends of Diazius, where Diazius was; whereof Alphonsus and the homicide having knowledge by certain of his secret friends, pretending great matters of importance, came to Neuberg, where Diazius was printing of Bucer's book; where after long debating of matters of religion between the two brethren, Alphonsus, seeing the heart of his brother John to be so constantly planted on the sure rock of God's truth, that by no wise he could either be removed from his opinion, or persuaded to ride in his company (being otherwise counselled by Bucer and his friends), feigned himself friendly to take his leave of his brother, and to depart: but shortly after, secretly, with his ruffianly murderer, he returned again; and by the way they bought a certain hatchet of a carpenter.

Diazius slain by his own brother.

This done, Alphonsus sendeth his man, being disguised, with letters unto his brother, he himself following after. As John Diazius in the morning was risen out of his bed to read the letters, the wretched hangman, with his hatchet clove his head unto the brains, leaving the hatchet in his head: and so he, with Alphonsus, took them to their horses, which stood without the city gate, with as much speed as they might. They of Neuberg, hearing of the horrible act, sent out certain horsemen, making great journeys after them; who, coming to Augsburg, and hearing the murderers to be passed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and so returned. One in the company, more zealous than the rest, would not return, but pursued them still, and, in the city of Inspruck, caused them to be stayed, and put in prison. Otto, palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the magistrates of Inspruck for judgment; which magistrates at first seemed very willing thereunto; but, in conclusion, through the practice of papists, and crafty lawyers, the sentence judicial was so delayed from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the emperor's letter came in post-haste, requiring the matter to be staid, and reserved to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his fellow was bolstered out by the papists; the like whereof, from the memory of men, was never heard of since the first example of Cain, who, for religion, slew his own brother Abel. But although true judgment in this world be perverted, yet such bloody Cains, with their wilful murders, shall not escape the hands of Him, who shall judge truly both the committers, and the bolsterers also, of all mischievous wickedness.¹

Cain still killeth Abel.

In the year 1546, Charles the emperor held an armed council at Augsburg, after his victory gotten in Germany. Here Julius Pflug, Michael Sidonius, and John Islebins, going about to concord together the gospel of Christ with the traditions of the pope, that is, to make a hodge-podge of them both, drew and framed out a new form of religion, called 'Interim;' whereupon began a new matter of persecution in Germany. For the emperor proceeded straitly against them who would not receive his Interim, intending thereby to have wrought some great mastery against the gospellers; but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

Assaults of the Spaniards against Constance

Among those who withstood this Spanish 'Interim,' besides others, were also the citizens of Constance; for which three thousand Spaniards, privily by night, came against the town of Constance, where they killed three of the watchmen of the town, who, watching in the suburbs, went forth to view the noise which they heard in the woods. The device of the Spaniards was, in the morning, when the citizens were at the sermon, suddenly to set upon the city and take it: so, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, something began to be suspected in the night, by the watchmen on the suburbs on the other side the water, whereby the council and citizens

(1) Ex Claudio Senarcléo: [i. e. "Historia vera de morte Jo. Diazii, quem frater ejus Germanus Alphonsus Diazius nefarie interfecit; per A. Senarcléum: Svo. (no place): 1546.—Ed.]

had intelligence to be in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the gate, to break into the city. But being driven from thence, and their captain Alphonsus slain, they went to the bridge which goeth over the Rhine. But being beaten also from thence with shot, and great pieces from the walls, and a great number of them drowned in the river, the Spaniards, breaking down the hinder part of the bridge, because the citizens should not pursue them, recoiled back into the suburbs, and burned them with the dead bodies also that were slain; so that the number of the Spaniards that were killed there could not be known: only a hundred honest citizens were missing.¹

German History.

A. D.
1521
to
1555.

At the same time many godly ministers of the churches in Germany were in great danger, especially such as refused to receive the Interim; of whom some were cast into prison. In this number of prisoners, was Martin Freetius, superintendent of Ulm, with four other preachers more: also his brother George, for but coming to his house to comfort him. For this cause Musculus at the same time, with other preachers more, went from Augsburg; Brentius from Halle, Blaurer from Constance, Bucer from Strasburg.

Persecutor: A Bishop in Hungary.
A godly Priest in Hungary, a Martyr.

In Hungary a certain godly priest preached, that the eating of flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture; for which the cruel bishop, after he had imprisoned him certain weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with hares, geese, and hens, hanging round about him: and so the beastly bishop made dogs to be set upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch. And thus the good minister of Christ, being driven about the city with the barking of dogs, died, and was martyred. The sight thereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But, within few days after, the impious bishop, by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became horn-mad, and so raving without sense or wit, miserably died.²

Just punishment of God upon a cruel persecutor.

Persecutor: Charles, the Emperor.
John Frederic of Saxony, Elector, A. D. 1547, Martyr.

Among these godly and constant saints of Christ, may well be recounted John Frederic, duke of Saxony; who, when he had recovered again all his dominions (which duke Maurice had taken from him before, being in Suabia with his army), and at last was taken prisoner by the emperor at Albia, the 24th of April, A. D. 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the emperor in revoking his faith and doctrine of the gospel wherein he stood. For this he was detained from his wife and children, and bereaved of all his goods, and carried about with the emperor for the space of five years. This admirable constancy of the duke was a wonder to all his adversaries. At last, A. D. 1552, through the benefit of Almighty God, he was again set at liberty, and returning home to his wife and children, continued in his religion till the hour of his death.³

Persecutor: Charles the Emperor, and Mary, his Sister.
The Landgrave of Hesse, A. D. 1547, Martyr.

Much like was the case also of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who likewise, being taken and spoiled by the emperor, continued the space of five years in the cruel custody of the Spaniards; and albeit he had fined unto the emperor, and was promised to be set free out of prison, the emperor and his council, dallying with their promise, expounded his imprisonment not to be perpetual. And though great labour and intercession was made for him, yet all would not help: for when the emperor sent him away, then Mary, the emperor's sister, took him by the way, finding cavillations against him; whereby he was again committed into the hands of the Spaniards, till at length, through the disposing of God's mercy,

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxi. [Pantaleon, p. 158.]

(2) Ex tom. ii. Conviv. Sermonum Johan. Gastil.

(3) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xix.

German History. first the duke of Saxony, and then six days after, the landgrave also, were both freed out of long captivity and sent home.¹

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

Persecutor : Charles the Emperor.
Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, Martyr, A.D. 1547.

With these holy martyrs above recited may also be numbered Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who, a little before the emperor had war against the Protestants, had reformed his church from certain papistical superstitions, using therein the aid and advice of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the emperor sent word to Cologne, that he should be deposed ; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set Adolphus, earl of Scauenburg.²

Persecutor : The President or Mayor of Dornick.
Master Nicholas Frenchman ; also Marion, wife of Augustine, a Barber, Martyrs, A.D. 1549.

Blasphemy of a papist.

Master Nicholas and Barbara his wife ; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, born about Hennegow, after they had been at Geneva a space, came into Germany, thinking that way to pass over into England. By the way, coming to Hennegow, Augustine desired Master Nicholas, because he was learned, to come to Bergen³ to visit and comfort certain brethren there : which he willingly did. From thence, passing by Dornick (or Tournay) they held on their journey toward England. But in the way Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected to the lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick. Augustine (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, laying hands upon Nicholas and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when Master Nicholas at the table gave thanks, as the manner is of the faithful, the wicked ruler, scorning them, and swearing like a tyrant, said, ' Now let us see, thou lewd heretic, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand.' To whom Nicholas, answering again modestly, asked, What had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergen, and there laid in the dungeon. Then duke Ariscote,⁴ accompanied with a great number of priests and Franciscan friars, and with a doctor, who was their warden, came to talk with them. Nicholas, standing in the midst of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would ; answered them perfectly to all their questions : and moreover, so confounded the friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, that he had a devil, and crying, ' To the fire with him, Lutheran !'

The friars confounded.

As they continued still looking for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers' minds to ask of Nicholas in what house he was lodged, when he came to Bergen? Nicholas said, He had never been there before ; and therefore, being a stranger, he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicholas would confess nothing, duke Ariscotus came to Barbara, the wife of Nicholas, to know where they were lodged at Bergen, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous woman, uttered all ; by the occasion whereof great persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly even upon the same, the son of the said duke Ariscotus was slain, and buried the same day when Augustine was burned. To be brief, Nicholas shortly after was brought before the judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes ; at which sentence-giving, Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice : ' O Charles, Charles ! how long shall thy heart be hardened ?' And with that one of the soldiers gave

Barbara revolteth. God's punishment on persecutors. Nicholas condemned.

(1) Ex Johan. Steid. lib. xix. xxiv.

(2) Ibid. lib. xviii.

(3) Berghen, or Mons, was the capital of Hennegow or Hamault.—Ed.

(4) The Duke of Ariscot, seven miles from Louvain.—Ed.

him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; 'Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy, to whom the word of God should be preached.' And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The friars came out with their old song, crying, that he had a devil; to whom Nicholas spake the verse of the Psalm: 'Depart from me, all ye wicked! for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.' And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended his spirit unto God in the midst of the fire.¹

*German
History.*

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

Marion, wife of Augustine, above mentioned, a Martyr, at Bergen in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion, the wife of Augustine, was called for, with whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom she answered, that the sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's institution, of which she was no celebrator but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quick. When she was let down to the grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a napkin or some linen cloth; which being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the hangman stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past.²

*Marion
buried
quick.*

Persecutors: The Watchmen or Soldiers of Beaumont.

Augustine, the Husband of Marion, martyred at Beaumont in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before, at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. After this he gave himself to sell spices, and other pedlary ware, from place to place: who, at length, coming to the town of Beaumont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the magistrate; whereof he having some intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And seeing moreover the house beset with harnesssed men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush: for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the town wall, who might well see him go into the thicket or bush, gave knowledge thereof to the soldiers, who followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergen, the head town of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, he answered his adversaries with great boldness.

*Augustine again
taken.*

Herein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the work of the Lord, how this man, being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among others came to him the warden of the Grey Friars, with a long oration, persnading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell-fire perpetually. To whom Augustine answering again, said, 'Prove that which you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a doctor of lies than of truth,' &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Beaumont, was brought to the inn where he should take horse, where was a certain gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to have pity upon himself; and if he would not favour his life, yet that he would favour his own soul. To whom said Augustine, after he had thanked him for his good will, 'What care I have,' said he, 'of my soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my conscience.' When he was come to the town of Beaumont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the son of duke Ariscotus,³ who was slain a little before (as is before touched); by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present, who, hearing of this Augustine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people, being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail, to the place of burning; but the Lord would not

*God's
goodness
in
strength
ening the
weak-
hearted.*

*Death
and mar-
tyrdom of
Augustine.*

(1) Ex Lud. Rab.; Pant. et aliis.

(2) Ibid.

(3) The Duke of Aerschet.—Ed.

German History.

suffer that. In fine, being tied to the stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed.¹

A. D.
1521
to
1555.

A certain Woman of Augsburg, who narrowly escaped Martyrdom there; A. D. 1550.²

At Augsburg a certain woman there dwelling, seeing a priest to carry the host to a sick person with taper-light (as the manner is), asked him what he meant so to go with candle-light at noon day. For this she was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest suit and prayer of the women of that city, and at the intercession of Mary, the emperor's sister.³

Two Virgins, in the Diocese of Bamberg, Martyrs, A. D. 1551.

In the diocese of Bamberg, two maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their heads; whereupon the one comforted the other, going to their martyrdom, 'Seeing Christ,' said she, 'for us bare a crown of thorns, why should we stick to bear a crown of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than crowns of gold.' Some said that they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith Melancthon) that they had some fond opinion admired withal; yet they did hold (saith he) the foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without errors. Flatter not yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.⁴

The Christian City of Magdeburg, A. D. 1551.

(Constancy to be noted in the city of Magdeburg.

When Charles the emperor had almost got all his purpose in Germany, in obtruding his religion of 'Interim' into all places, which was received by the most part of all the chief princes and cities; only the city of Magdeburg, continuing in the constancy of their doctrine reformed, refused to admit the same. Wherefore war was raised against them, their city besieged, and great violence used; so that many honest and religious citizens, for the gospel's cause, sustained great perils and danger of death. At last, when they had manfully and constantly endured such great distress and calamity the space of a whole year, through the blessed providence of Almighty God (who about the same time sent war between the French king and the emperor), honest reconciliation was made between them and the emperor, whereby they were received into favour, and suffered to enjoy their former religion quietly.⁵

Persecutors: James Hesselius, Chamberlain of Gaunt, and the Friars there.

Hostius otherwise called George, martyred at Gaunt, A. D. 1555.

This Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in graving in armour and in steel. He first was in the French church here in England, during the reign of king Edward. After the coming of queen Mary, he went to Norden, in Friesland, with his wife and children. From thence, having business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his friends) he heard that there was a Black friar, who used to preach good doctrine to the people: wherefore he, being desirous to hear, came to his sermon; where the friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing of this his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar was come down, he burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a sacrament of the Lord's body. The friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart; also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the

(1) Ex Crisp. et aliiis.

(2) The names of the persecutors be not expressed in the story.

(3) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxii.

(4) Hæc Phil. Melanct.

(5) The names of their persecutors appear not in the story.

doors. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him and carried him to prison. Then were doctors and other friars, as Pistorius, and Bunderius, brought to reason with him of the sacrament, of invocation of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture, which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should declare his mind in writing, which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Embden, comforting her, and requiring her to take care of Samuel and Sarah his children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to have him dispatched; wherefore he, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they strangled, and then consumed his body, being dead, with fire. And thus was the martyrdom of Hostius.¹

*German
History.*

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

John Frisius, Abbot in Bavaria, A. D. 1554.

John Sleidan maketh record of one John Frisius, abbot of Newstadt, within the diocese of the bishop of Wurtzburg, in Bavaria; who, being suspected of Lutheranism, was called to account of his faith: and strongly persisting in his assertions, and defending the same by the Scriptures, he was therefore displaced and removed from all his jurisdictions, the five and twentieth of June, A. D. 1554.²

Persecutors: The Bailiff of Hennegow; the Governor of the Town and Castle of Dornick; Peter Deventiere, Lieutenant of the said Bailiff; Philip de Cordis, chief Councillor in Criminal Causes; Nicholas Chambree; Peter Rechelier; James de Clerke; Nicholas of Fernague; Master Hermes, of Wingles, one of the Council for the said Bailiwick.

Bertrand le Blas, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny showed unto him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk-weaver, went to Wesel, for the cause of religion, who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornick to Wesel, came thence from thence to persuade her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be intreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmas-day to the high church of Dornick, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread, was not Jesus their Saviour. At the sight hereof the people, being struck with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stir thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life.

It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the bailiff of Hennegow, and governor of the castle of Dornick, who lay sick the same time of the gout at Biesme; who, like a madman, cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that contumely, so to be trodden under foot of such a miser adding moreover, that he would revenge his cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all posterity; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the castle of Dornick. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so do, if it were to be done again? He answered, that if it were a hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the pinbank, and tormented most miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the sentence, more like tyrants than christian men; by the tenor of which sentence, this was his punishment:

Bertrand
thrice tormented.

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his

(1) Ex Lud. Rab. lib. vi.

(2) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxv.

*German History.*A.D.
1524
to
1555.His right
hand and
foot
pressed
off; his
tongue
cut out.
His burn-
ing and
martyr-
dom.*See
Appendix.*

right hand, wherewith he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was mishapen. In like manner they brought other like irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who, notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved: whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire; whom the aforesaid governor, there standing by and looking on, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated, was locked up, and the board whereupon the priest stood was burnt; the marble stone also whereupon the host did light, was broken in pieces. And, finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his doctrine at Wesel, commandment was given, that no person out of that country should go to Wesel, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the emperor's placard.¹

Two hundred Ministers of Bohemia, A.D. 1555.

Persecu-
tion in
Bohemia.

The same year two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished out of Bohemia, for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and extolling the glory of Christ.²

The Preachers of Locarno.

Persecu-
tion in
Locarno

Locarno is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the gospel, and the five pages of the Helvetians above mentioned were not well-pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the ministers should be exiled; whom the Zurichers did receive.³

Francis Warlut, and Alexander Dayken, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1562.

After these two good men, being born in the lower parts of Germany, had been conversant in divers reformed churches in other countries, at last, for conscience' sake, they returned home again to do good in their own country of Dornick, and thereabout. So upon a time, as the people there resorted to a back field or wood without the city, with a certain preacher, to hear the word of God and to pray, the adversaries, having thereof some intelligence, so pursued them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended; and thinking no less but that they should be burned, they began to sing psalms. At length being brought forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded; and whereas the judges had intended to quarter their bodies, and to set them up by the high ways, yet was it so provided, God working in the hearts of the people, that they were both committed to sepulture.⁴

Persecutor: the Earl of Lalaine.

Gillot Vivier, James Le Fevre his father-in-law, Michael Le Fevre, son of James; also Anna, wife of Gillot, and daughter of James Le Fevre, martyred at Valenciennes.

These, in the cause of the gospel, suffered at Valenciennes.

James Le Fevre, being an old man, said, that although he could not answer or

(1) Ex Crisp. Pantol. et Adriano.
(3) Ex Pantaleon. [p. 325.]

(2) Ex Johan. Sleid. lib. xxv.
(4) Ex Lud. Rab.

satisfy them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel.

Anna his daughter, being with child, was respited. After she was delivered, she followed her husband and father in the like martyrdom!

*German
History.*

A. D.
1524
to
1555.

Michelle de Caignoncle, martyred at Valenciennes, A. D. 1550.

Michelle, widow of James Clerk, of the same place, when she was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the country to some reformed church, refused so to do, but would abide the adventure of her vocation, and so was condemned with Gillot to be burned.¹

Godfride Hamelle, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1552.

This Godfride, a tailor, was taken and condemned at Dornick, or Tournay. When they had condemned him by the name of a heretic; 'Nay,' said he, 'not a heretic, but an unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ.' When the hangman went about to strangle him, to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying, that he would abide the sentence that the judges had given.²

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there were both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, who were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away; whose names, although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the book of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch book of Adrian, divers other be numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, who likewise suffered in divers places of the lower country. The names of certain whereof be these.

Divers Martyrs in the Low Countries.

At Bergen, or Mons, in Hennegow, were burnt, A. D. 1555, John Malo, Damian Witrock, Weldrew Calier; buried quick, John Porceau. At Aste also suffered one Julian, A. D. 1541, and Adrian Lopphe, A. D. 1555: at Brussels, A. D. 1559, one Bawdwin beheaded: another called Gilleken Tielman burnt, A. D. 1541.³

Add moreover to the same catalogue of Dutch martyrs, burnt and consumed in the lower countries under the emperor's dominion, the names of these following. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechelen, A. D. 1529; Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt; Robert Orgvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Orgvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, A. D. 1556; M. Nicholas, burnt at Mons. John Fosseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, A. D. 1553; Hubert the printer, and Philip Joyner at Bruges, A. D. 1553; a woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, A. D. 1552. At Mechlen suffered Francis and Nicholas Thiis, two brethren, A. D. 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a painter, and Henry a tailor, A. D. 1555; also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson, the same year. Master John Champ, school-master, A. D. 1557; with a number of other besides, who in the said book are to be seen and read.

A. D. 1525, we read also in the French history, of a certain monk, who, because he forsook his abominable order and was married, was burned at Prague.

A Preacher poisoned at Erfurt, by the Priests of that place.

In the collections of Henry Pantaleon we read also of a certain godly preacher who was poisoned, for preaching the word of truth, by the priests of Erfurt.⁴

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ex Gallieana Hist. et Adrian.

(4) Ex Elegia eujusdam viri docti in Pantal.

French History. in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdom suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousness, as in this brief summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

A. D.
1525
to
1560.

ANOTHER TABLE, OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED IN FRANCE, FOR
THE LIKE WITNESS OF THE GOSPEL.

*See
Appendix.*

The French Martyrs.

James Pavanes, Schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1525. Persecuted by Dr. Martial of Paris.

This James, first being taken by the bishop of Meldæ, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Martial. Afterwards returning again to his confession, he was burned at Paris, A. D. 1525.¹

Denis de Rieux, at Meldæ, or Meaux, A.D. 1528.

This Denis² was one of those who were first burned at Meaux, and that for saying, that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth the words of Christ; 'He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father;' and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment.³

Johannes de Cahors, Bachelor of the Civil Law, A.D. 1533.

This John, first for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosin, in France, upon Allhallow's-day, and afterwards, sitting at a feast where it was propounded that every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, 'Christ reign in our hearts;' and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and then burned. At his degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his theme the words of St. Paul [1 Tim. iv.], 'The Spirit speaketh, that in the latter days, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits and doctrine of error,' &c.; and when in handling that place, either he could not or would not proceed further in the text, John cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word. Then John, taking the text, did prosecute the same, as followeth: 'Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving,' &c.⁴

Bartholomew Mylon, a lame Cripple; John du Bourg, Merchant, the Receiver of Nantz; Henry Poille of Couberon; Catelle, a Schoolmistress; and Steven de la Forge, Merchant, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Promoters of Paris.

These five here specified, for certain bills cast abroad and set up, sounding against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an iron wire tied fast to one of his cheeks; who likewise with the others was burned as is aforesaid.⁵

Alexander Canus, Priest, otherwise called Laurence de la Croix, at Paris, A.D. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned at Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment.⁶

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) This Denis, having a wooden cross put into his hands by the friars, with his teeth cast it into the river, which made the friars mad.

(3) Ex Crisp. et alii.

(4) Ex Crisp.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ex Henric. Pant.

John Pointet, a Surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Grey Friars in Paris, and by Dr. Clerke, a Sorbonist. *French History.*

This surgeon being detected and accused by the friars, and such as he had cured before of a shameful disorder, was first condemned to be strangled, and then burned: but afterwards, because he would not do homage to a certain idol at the commandment of a friar that came to confess him, his sentence was turned to have his tongue cut off,¹ and so to be burned.²

A.D.
1525
to
1560.

Peter Gaudet, Knight sometimes of Rhodes, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by a certain Knight of Rhodes, Uncle to this Peter.

This Peter, being at Geneva with his wife, was trained out from thence by his uncle, and put in prison for defence of the gospel; and, after long torments there sustained, was burned.³

Quoquillard, Martyr, A.D. 1534.

At Besançon, in the country of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's gospel.⁴

Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, Martyrs, A.D. 1534.

⁵ These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the gospel, in the city of Arras: namely Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, Stephen Burlet.⁵

Mary Becandella, at Fontenay, A.D. 1534. Persecuted by a Grey Friar in the City of Rochelle.

This Mary, being virtuously instructed of her master, where she lived; and being afterwards at a sermon which a friar preached, after the sermon found fault with his doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures; whereat he disdaining, procured her to be burned at Fontenay.⁶

John Cornon, a Martyr, A.D. 1535.

John Cornon was a husbandman of Mascon, and unlettered; but one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his judges were amazed; when he was condemned by their sentence and burned.⁷

Martin Gonin, in Dauphiné, A.D. 1536. Persecuted by George Borel, a tailor; by the Procurator of the City of Grenoble in France; and by the Inquisitor.

This Martin, being taken for a spy, in the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In his going out, his jailor espied about him letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret: wherefore, being examined by the king's procurator, and by the inquisitor, touching his faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the river and drowned.⁸

Claude le Peintre, a Goldsmith, at Paris, A.D. 1540. Persecuted by his kinsfolks and friends, and by Morinus an Officer.

Claudius, going about to convert his friends and kinsfolks to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chief captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreover, that he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned.⁹

(1) In France the manner was, that the martyrs coming by any image, as they went to burning, if they would not worship the same, had their tongues cut out.

(2) Ex Crisp.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

French History.

A.D.

1525

to

1560.

The martyr not harmed with the fire.

Stephen Brune, a Husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540. Persecuted by Gasper Augerius, the bishop's renter; and by Domicelli, Franciscan and inquisitor.

Stephen Brune, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned; which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantaleon addeth moreover, that at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the people, that he continued there the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarcely touched with any flame; so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots, and vessels of oil, and such other matter; and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head: to whom the holy martyr, being yet alive, said, 'When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog?' With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the entrails, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind.¹

Constantinus, a Citizen of Rouen, martyred with three others,
A.D. 1542.

These four, for defence of the gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a dung-cart; who, thereat rejoicing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a sweet odour unto God.²

John du Becke, Priest, martyred A.D. 1543.

For the doctrine of the gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the city of Troyes in Champagne.³

Aymond de la Voye, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1543, persecuted by the parish priest of the town of St. Faith in Agenois, and by other priests of the same country; also by Master Riverack and his servant.

The office of a good shepherd, to stand by his flock.

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's in Agenois where he was accused by the parish priest there, and by other priests, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitor to apprehend him, he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly and shift for himself; but he would not, saying, he had rather never have been born, than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd (he said) not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or else lest peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he had fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, that he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die. [Acts xxvi.]

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration, the sumner came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the sumner, to deliver him out of his hands; but Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom: seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not (said he) resist. Then the consuls suffered the sumner, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against

(1) Ex Crisp.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

him, with M. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory.

About nine months he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters, whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: 'This body,' said he, 'once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever.' In the time of his tormenting, he swooned. Afterwards, coming to himself again, he said, 'O Lord! Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?' To whom the president, 'Nay, wicked Lutheran,' said he, 'thou hast forsaken God.' Then said Aymond, 'Alas, good masters! why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord! I beseech thee forgive them; they know not what they do.' 'See,' said the president, 'this caitiff, how he prayeth for us.' Nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused, choosing to him one of his own order, the parish priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. 'Do you not see,' said he, 'how I am troubled enough with men; will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you!' At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish priest, he took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he, having long talk, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that came unto him the judges, Chassagne and Longa, with other councillors; unto whom the said Aymond began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper. But Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

A Judge: 'First declare unto us your mind, what you think of purgatory?' Purgatory.

The Martyr: 'In Scripture all these are one: to purge, to cleanse, and to wash: whereof we read in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul, Heb. ix. and St. Peter, 1 Pet. i.; He hath washed you in his blood. Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins,' &c.

Judge: 'These epistles are known to every child.'

The Martyr: 'To every child? Nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.'

A Friar: 'Master Aymond, with one word you may satisfy them, if you will say, that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.'

The Martyr: 'That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would ye have me damn my own soul, and to say that which I know not?'

Judge: 'Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that dieth in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?'

The Martyr: 'Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise.'

Another Judge: 'Where is paradise?'

The Martyr: 'There, where the majesty and glory of God is.'

Judge: 'The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor.'¹

(1) This friar taketh praying for the poor which be alive, and those that be dead, to be all one.

French History.
A. D.
1525
to
1560.

<i>French History.</i>	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.'
A. D.	<i>Judge:</i> 'Dost thou believe in the church?'
1525	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'I believe, as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed.'
to	<i>Judge:</i> 'What church is that?'
1560.	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whosoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them.'
The church.	<i>Judge:</i> 'By this it should follow, that there be many churches: and where any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church.'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'It is no absurd thing to say that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh St. Paul, To all the churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these congregations make but one church.'
	<i>Judge:</i> 'The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same which our creed doth call the holy church?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'I believe the same.'
The head of the church.	<i>Judge:</i> 'And who should be head of that church?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'Jesus Christ.'
	<i>Judge:</i> 'And not the pope?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'No.'
	<i>Judge:</i> 'And what is he then?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be; of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv., Let a man so esteem of us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God,' &c.
	<i>Judge:</i> 'What then, dost thou not believe the pope?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'I know not what he is.'
The pope, what he is.	<i>Judge:</i> 'Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?'
	<i>The Martyr:</i> 'If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good.'

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymond putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, 'Who shall separate me from the love of God? shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him: but rather I have pity of you,' said he; and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way Psalm exiv., 'In exitu Israel de Ægypto,' &c.; and as he passed by the place where he had before been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked moreover the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so, taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness showed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. 'I ask mercy,' said he, 'of God and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy.' From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver or carter, willing him to drive apace, 'for here is preaching,' said he, 'enough.' To whom said Aymond, 'He that is of God, heareth the words of God,' &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her:¹ whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, 'Dispatch him, dispatch him, let him not speak.' Then he, speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had

Aymond speaketh for his prison-fellows.

(1) 'Filioli, custodite vos a simulachris.' 1 John v.

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